

ROCKEFELLER CARRIAGE ROADS  
(Acadia Carriage Roads)  
Acadia National Park Roads & Bridges  
Bar Harbor Vicinity  
Hancock County  
Maine

HAER NO. ME-13

HAER  
ME  
5-BAHA.V,  
14-

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

PHOTOGRAPHS

MEASURED AND INTERPRETIVE DRAWINGS

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HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD  
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ROCKEFELLER CARRIAGE ROADS

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I. INTRODUCTION

LOCATION:

Various locations on eastern half of Mount Desert Island, Hancock County, Maine. Approximately 47 miles of road are located in Acadia National Park, and the remaining 11 on Rockefeller land near Seal Harbor.

Quads: Bar Harbor, Maine  
Hulls Cove, Maine  
Salisbury Cove, Maine  
Seal Harbor, Maine

DATES OF CONSTRUCTION: 1917-35

ENGINEERS: Charles W. Simpson  
Paul D. Simpson

STRUCTURE TYPE: Broken stone carriage roads

ORIGINAL OWNERS: John D. Rockefeller, Jr.  
Acadia National Park, National Park Service

PRESENT OWNERS: Acadia National Park, National Park Service  
David Rockefeller

SIGNIFICANCE: Built by industrialist and philanthropist John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the carriage road system on Maine's Mount Desert Island has become one of the principal attractions of Acadia National Park. Rockefeller, who had an avid personal interest in carriage driving and landscape design, built the roads to indulge his favorite pastime, but made

the system available to the public for their use and enjoyment. The roads provide access to many of the island's favorite scenic attractions, and include lakeside circuits, climbs to mountain shoulders and a summit, and routes through dense forest groves. The carriage road system is significant as a reminder of the early twentieth century interest in carriage driving as a leisure activity, for its careful attention to landscape design, and for its engineering structures, notably eighteen large stone-faced bridges. The Rockefeller carriage roads are the best-preserved and probably the largest surviving intact system of developed horse roads in the United States.

**PROJECT INFORMATION:**

Documentation of the Rockefeller Carriage Roads is part of the Acadia National Park Roads and Bridges Recording Project, conducted in 1994-95 by the Historic American Engineering Record. This is one in a series of reports prepared for the project. HAER No. ME-11, ACADIA NATIONAL PARK ROADS AND BRIDGES, contains an overview history of the park road systems.

Richard H. Quin, Historian, 1994-97

#### ISLAND OF LEISURE

Mount Desert Island first gained the attention of the Nation when artist Thomas Cole, the leader of the Hudson River school of landscape painting, visited the island in 1844 with fellow artist Henry Cheever Pratt and produced a number of sketches on which he later based several important works, including paintings of the Otter Cliffs and Frenchman Bay. His pupil, Frederic Edwin Church, Fitz Hugh Lane and other landscape artists all followed on their own pilgrimages, and their canvases effectively publicized the dramatic beauty of the islands.<sup>1</sup>

Their paintings attracted the first tourists, and summer visitors began to play an important role in the island's economy. At first, islanders began taking in these guests, then rudimentary hotels were established. The first visitors came to tramp about and seek out the island's beauty, and did not at first demand elaborate accommodations. However, after the first summer homes were erected by wealthy people from the eastern cities seeking a respite on the cool New England coast, the island began to take on the air of a resort. Before long, the summer population seemed drawn from the Social Register. Although the cottages were a faint shade less pretentious than those of fabled Newport, Rhode Island, in some ways Mount Desert was a more refined and exclusive resort. One could easily get to Newport from New York or Boston after a week's work in the evening, but to go to Bar Harbor took real leisure time--one went "down east" for the season. Calling themselves "rusticators," many of the cottagers were drawn to the wild scenery of the place, and roamed the woods and climbed the mountains, constructing a system of stone "memorial paths" and wild trails. Other cottagers were just attracted to the social whirlwind, and Bar Harbor became one of The Places to Be Seen.

By the late 1880s, the wealthy were firmly entrenched in enormous "cottages" in several island communities--Bar Harbor, Seal Harbor, and Northeast Harbor. For their leisure, a series of driving roads were laid out to various points of scenic interest, including stunning seaside roads and a buckboard road to the summit of Cadillac Mountain (then called Green Mountain). Many cottagers kept stables of fine horses. Shows and competitions were held at the Kebo Valley Club, and an elaborate show ground

was established at Morrell (Robin Hood) Park. Other pleasures enjoyed by the summer residents included yachting, tennis, dances and balls, cultural programs at a neoclassical "Building of Arts," and an endless series of calls on the other mansions and cottages. Others took respite from the social whirlwind by retreating to the hiking trails and memorial "paths," and increasingly, to pleasure driving on the island's roads.

These influential summer residents took great pleasure in their carriage drives and resisted the introduction of the automobile, not wanting to share their driving roads with the new mechanical contrivances. In 1905, they were successful in having the Maine state legislature pass an act banning motor vehicles from the island. More driving roads were established. The most popular were the Ocean Drive along the rugged section of the east coast from Sand Beach to Otter Point, the Bay Drive between Bar Harbor and Halls Cove, the Gorge Road running along the Tarn, the Breakneck Road running down Breakneck Brook's steep valley, the Sea Cliff or Cooksey Drive near Seal Harbor, and the Sargent Drive along Somes Sound. By 1901 there were more than 120 miles of driving roads on the island, all restricted to horse or carriage travel. For vacationers without their own mounts or conveyances, a considerable livery stable business developed, offering horses and carriages for hire to those who wished to ride or drive the island roads.<sup>2</sup>

However, as the use of the automobile became prevalent, the island's permanent residents began clamoring for the ban to be lifted. In 1909, they were able to have the legislature consider an act repealing the restrictions. The summer cottagers raised a considerable amount of money and defeated the proposal. However, their methods garnered considerable criticism, and the pro-automobile faction redoubled its efforts. By early 1911, it became clear that the legislature would bow to pressure to allow cars free access to the island. The summer community was able to have a compromise measure adopted whereby automobiles could come to Bar Harbor over a single road but the necessary funds for its construction were not raised. In 1913 automobiles were admitted to Bar Harbor, and they were allowed on the remainder of the island by 1915. The *New York Times* reported that within a few months, the automobile had "practically retired the horse" at Bar

Harbor.<sup>3</sup>

#### MR. ROCKEFELLER'S RESPONSE

While most of the cottagers were dismayed that automobiles were now motoring over their favorite drives, a new summer resident at Seal Harbor was driven to action. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., whose father established the country's greatest fortune at the helm of the Standard Oil Company, purchased a cottage at Seal Harbor just before the automobile ban was lifted and began spending his summers on Mount Desert Island. An excellent horseman and coachman, he enjoyed driving carriages over the island's roads.

"Horse roads" were nothing new to Rockefeller. Much of his childhood had been spent on his father's estate on Cleveland's Euclid Avenue. A twenty-block section dominated by imposing mansions of the city's wealthy elite, "Millionaire's Row" was hailed by author and world traveler Bayard Taylor as "the most beautiful street in the world," rivaled only by the Nevesky Prospect. Clevelanders compared it with the Champs Élysee and Unter der Linden. It certainly was the grandest street in Cleveland. The broad avenue was lined with a double row of magnificent trees and paved "as smooth as a table top" for the residents to drive their fine horses. The influential property owners succeeded in keeping the city's street cars off their section so they could drive their carriages unhindered. Races were common, with John D. Rockefeller, Sr. often taking part with fine trotters from his stable.

In 1878, the elder Rockefeller assembled a large parcel on the outskirts of the city and it became the family's summer retreat. He took to "Forest Hill" for relaxation and as a refuge from the pressures of his enormous business affairs. Additions were made to the estate until it totalled some 700 acres.<sup>4</sup> He then began developing the property for his own and his children's pleasure. One of the major attractions was a set of pleasure driving roads.

As a child, young Rockefeller helped his father lay out the carriage paths around Forest Hill until they eventually totalled 18 miles in length (this on a tract containing only slightly more than a square mile). Some sections were specially smoothed for

the small-wheeled vehicles of the children. Careful attention was given to the planning of the roads and to their landscaping. In his reminiscences, the elder Rockefeller described the attention which went into the location of the roads.

How many miles of roads I have laid out in my time I can hardly compute, but I have often kept at it until I was exhausted. While surveying roads, I have run the lines until darkness made it impossible to see the little stakes and flags.<sup>5</sup>

Following his father about while the roads were being planned and built, the young man learned how to locate a route so as to offer the best views or unexpected vistas, and to follow natural contours wherever possible, as this limited the marring of the landscape by road construction. He watched as his father altered watercourses and constructed two small lakes for scenic effect. At Forest Hill, he learned the basics of road construction and how the landscape could be enhanced through subtle manipulation.

The forested areas were an area of keen interest to father and son, and the estate driving roads were carefully planted with ornamental trees. Young Rockefeller personally assisted in the plantings, and was encouraged by his father to take an interest in the estate affairs. At the age of sixteen, he was given responsibility for the estate payroll and oversaw improvements. Overseeing the estate books (as well as keeping a strict accounting of his allowances and expenditures, another requirement set forward by his father) fostered in him a fierce attention to the most minute financial details.<sup>6</sup>

Provided with a carefully-selected pony at age 8, Rockefeller grew to be an excellent horseman. In addition to the carriage roads, the Cleveland estate had a half-mile track for exercising fast horses. The young boy planted a row of maples along the track, perhaps encouraging his lifelong interest in landscape architecture.

The elder Rockefeller moved his family to New York City in the 1870s, though they would continue to spend summers at Forest Hill until 1913. In Manhattan, he took the children on carriage rides

in the newly-completed Central Park. The young Rockefeller was thus introduced to the finest public park in the country, characterized by its broad driving roads, open meadows and lawns, and clumps of specimen trees.<sup>7</sup> Frederick Law Olmsted's design for the park, particularly the separation of the driving roads from the city street system, would influence much of the subsequent work on Mount Desert Island, where Rockefeller engaged Olmsted's son to carry out some of his work.

John D., Jr. joined his father at Standard Oil after graduating from Brown University. Like his father, he generally drove his own coach to work down Fifth Avenue daily, a noticeable irony considering the family fortune had exploded with the spread of the automobile. As his biographer, Raymond Fosdick, later recounted, "He had been brought up with horses, and as time went on they became increasingly an indispensable factor in his recreation."<sup>8</sup>

At the age of twelve, young Rockefeller made his first visit to the national parks, when in August 1886 the family visited Yellowstone National Park, the Nation's first national park. The party visited all the major sights, including the geysers, the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone and Mammoth Hot Springs. The young man toured much of the park on a pony, "Peanuts." This visit awakened in him an appreciation for the role in conserving America's scenery for the enjoyment of all. Rockefeller would become the greatest private benefactor of the national parks, ultimately giving more than \$40 million for their development and protection. This direct involvement with park projects would begin in Maine, where he built a system of marvelous carriage and motor roads and provided a third of the land eventually encompassed within Acadia National Park.<sup>9</sup>

By the late 1890s, the Rockefeller-controlled Standard Oil Company had come to dominate the world's oil industry. After the turn of the century, the elder Rockefeller began withdrawing from management of the vast company he had founded, turning over the affairs to his son. The young man found himself responsible for monumental decisions for the company and various corporate boards set up by his father. This responsibility was accompanied at times by fierce personal criticism directed towards his father's

determined business methods, culminating in Ida M. Tarbell's venomous *History of the Standard Oil Company* (1904) which savagely deprecated the Rockefeller business dealings. Not surprisingly, Rockefeller sought to provide himself with some respite from his exacting business duties and critical exposure in the press.<sup>10</sup>

Following his marriage to Abbie Aldrich in 1901, the couple often spent their vacations coaching in the Hudson Valley, in the Berkshires, and to other areas popular for riding and coaching. Their favorite retreats were the Mohonk Mountain House in the Shawangunk Mountains of New York at The Homestead in Hot Springs, Virginia, still a popular destination. They also frequently visited Moses H. Cone's driving park in the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Carolina. Cone, a Tennessee native, had acquired a huge tract of mountain land near Blowing Rock, North Carolina, in 1897. He erected a large mansion, Flat Top Manor, and provided his estate with 26 miles of bridle paths and carriage roads roaming through stands of virgin hemlock and yellow poplar. The estate became a social retreat, frequented by visitors who sought out the wild woods for pleasure drives.<sup>11</sup>

After John D. Rockefeller, Sr. assembled a vast tract of more than 3,000 acres on the Hudson River at Pocantico Hills, the young man again helped his father lay out a carriage road system which would ultimately encompass some 65 miles. Road building had become an almost obsessive hobby for the two men, and soon after the work began at Pocantico Hills, the younger Rockefeller began building roads of his own at his new Seal Harbor retreat. The two systems were completed roughly simultaneously.<sup>12</sup>

Rockefeller had first visited Mount Desert Island on a school outing in the 1890s. In 1908, he returned with his wife and rented a cottage in Bar Harbor, and there their son, Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller, the future governor of New York and Vice-President of the United States, was born in July.<sup>13</sup> The Rockefellers returned the next year, renting a house in quieter Seal Harbor on the south edge of the island.

In 1910, the Rockefellers purchased the Eyrie, a relatively small mock Tudor "cottage" on Barr Hill west of Seal Harbor. They

enlarged the house to nearly 100 rooms and neatly landscaped the grounds.<sup>14</sup> That same year, Rockefeller made a decision to abandon his day-to-day management of Standard Oil and devoted himself to his numerous philanthropic concerns, which included medical research, education, foreign relations, and conservation. In 1917, his wealth increased dramatically as his father began transferring the vast portion of his fortune to his son in order to avoid the new federal inheritance tax, which imposed a 25 percent levy on estates of \$10 million or more. By 1921, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. controlled nearly \$500 million. But he did little to expand his fortune, and concentrated on social concerns and philanthropy.<sup>15</sup> One of his projects which gave him the greatest satisfaction was the carriage road work on Mount Desert Island.

Confinement in his offices at 26 Broadway (and later, Room 5600 of Rockefeller Center) separated Rockefeller from the wilds of nature that he so loved. His summer retreat at Seal Harbor provided a much-needed escape. The small harbor community was quieter than Bar Harbor, where the majority of the wealthy crowd gathered for the summer social season, and was more conducive to the privacy he sought. Over the next five decades, Rockefeller and his family would spend most summers at The Eyrle.

Rockefeller soon began acquiring neighboring properties until eventually the estate was the largest on the island. Barr Hill, on which the cottage stood, overlooked Long Pond to the west and the Eastern Way (the channel separating Mount Desert and Sutton islands) to the south. To the north, Jordan and Sargent mountains rose in the near distance. The rich variety of terrain and the stunning views captivated Rockefeller and he spent much of his time seeking out the scenic spots in the area.

The admission of automobiles to the island in 1915 spurred Rockefeller to action. He quickly conceived the idea of constructing a series of "horse roads" around his property, where children and friends could ride horseback or drive their carriages without being disturbed by cars. In effect, he transplanted an experience he enjoyed at Forest Hill and Pocantico Hills to Mount Desert Island.

His plans were greeted with general acclaim but some skepticism. One Northeast Harbor resident, hearing of Rockefeller's plans, was wary of the proposal, reporting that his impression of the carriage road system at Pocantico Hills was that of "a huge waffle iron."<sup>16</sup>

#### FIRST ROADS

The first Rockefeller carriage roads were constructed on the expanded Eyrie tract, circling Barr Hill on which stood the "cottage." These were constructed in part on the original 150-acre Eyrie tract and on land he quickly acquired on both sides of Barr Hill and including lovely (Little) Long Pond, a half-mile long lake formed by the impoundment of Jordan Stream by a natural sea wall. Rockefeller soon acquired the land between his estate and Jordan Pond and began construction of a carriage road to the Jordan Pond House, a popular tea house on the pond's southeast edge.<sup>17</sup>

Rockefeller first employed Alanson E. Clement to carry out the construction. Clement, a general contractor and neighbor to Mr. Rockefeller's estate, was a descendent of John Clement, the original settler of Seal Harbor. Clement ran a livery and boarding stable and did excavating, general contracting and road building work. He began his association with Rockefeller by performing the initial grading for the first roads on Barr Hill. As early as 1915, Clement was engaged in the construction of the road from the Eyrie to Jordan Pond, and on the "Green Valley Farm Road" along Long Pond. In time, Clement would sell his property on the side of Long Pond to Rockefeller, though he and his family remained in their old house.<sup>18</sup>

Clement soon became fully occupied with the work, and Rockefeller hired a second contractor, Chauncey D. Joy, to construct additional segments. Joy, a general contractor, had constructed Sargent Drive, a scenic driving road (now a park motor road) bordering Somes Sound, for the Northeast Harbor Village Improvement Society. He also laid out the Northeast Harbor sewerage system and constructed the dam at Lower Hadlock Pond.<sup>19</sup>

Although Rockefeller personally chose the locations for the

estate roads, he could not remain at Seal Harbor through their construction. He engaged George Stebbins, the Seal Harbor developer, to oversee the work and administer the payroll for his crews. In May 1914, Stebbins reported to Rockefeller that the Green Valley and Barr Hill roads would be complete by June. The Barr Hill Road began at the estate entrance on the Seal Harbor-Northeast Harbor road and ran north, crossing the gap between Barr and Redfield hills. From there, it turned back south to reach the meadows at the side of Long Pond. Gravel for the surfacing was taken from the divide between the hills, enabling a reduction of the grade of the road at this point. Some blasting was required and the crews were using a steam drill in this work. In mid-June, Stebbins reported that the crews were finishing up the work, including setting "large rocks around the sides of the curves," the first mention in the correspondence of the coping stones which would later be set along mile after mile of the carriage roads.<sup>20</sup>

In September 1914, Rockefeller directed Stebbins to enter into a contract with Clement and Joy for the construction of a new road to connect his estate with the Jordan Pond House. Rockefeller authorized \$9,320 for the work, for which Stebbins would receive a 5 percent commission. Clement and Joy constructed the road simultaneously, their crews starting from alternate ends.<sup>21</sup>

Despite Stebbins' assistance, Rockefeller was soon forced to hire an engineer, Charles P. Simpson (1848-1922) to direct the continuing work. Simpson (1848-1922), a native of Sullivan, Maine, on the mainland across from Mount Desert Island, had learned surveying and engineering from his uncles out west. He returned to Sullivan in 1880 and set up practice in his home town. His work included property surveys, road construction, and surveying the railway line between Ellsworth and Machias. Starting in 1886, he conducted numerous property surveys on Mount Desert Island, including the Kebo Valley Golf Club and numerous private properties in Seal Harbor and Northeast Harbor. The latter work brought him to Rockefeller's attention. For the next six years, Simpson would oversee the work under Rockefeller's strict attention. When ill health forced him to retire in 1922, his son Paul continued the work for Rockefeller.<sup>22</sup>

Rockefeller established an engineering office for the work at Seal Harbor.<sup>23</sup> Simpson worked out of the office, and was frequently joined by his employer who was keenly interested in every detail of the work. While Rockefeller was in New York, Simpson kept him abreast of the work through extensive correspondence. Rockefeller walked the routes of the proposed lines and gave his comments. In addition to spending most summers at Seal Harbor, he often made trips in the spring and winter to inspect the ongoing work. But much of the planning was carried out in his correspondence.

Rockefeller and Simpson's correspondence is today preserved in the Rockefeller Archives Center at Pocantico Hills and gives many insights into the planning process. In addition to the heavy volume of correspondence with Simpson, Rockefeller wrote hundreds of letters to his contractors, his attorneys involved in land acquisition, neighbors and other island residents. In addition, he kept in close touch with George Dorr and other Park Service officials. More correspondence was handled by his personal secretary, Charles O. Heydt; his Seal Harbor estate superintendent, S. F. Ralston; and other personal representatives. The letters and reports are supplemented with sketches, maps, surveys, and tables showing costs and estimates.

In the summer and fall of 1915, Simpson surveyed routes for new carriage roads connecting the Rockefeller estate system with Brown Mountain (now Norumbega Mountain) to the west and a second road to Jordan Pond. The "Brown Mountain-Jordan Pond Road" would connect with a planned bridle path system from Northeast Harbor, and enable residents of this community to ride over to the Jordan Pond House, providing an alternative to the old Asticou Trail. The other road, connecting the estate to Jordan Pond by way of Mitchell and Gardiner Hills, would allow for a loop drive from the estate back and forth to Jordan Pond.<sup>24</sup>

Rockefeller's first roads around his house were criticized by a number of ladies at Seal Harbor's Seaside Inn and other locals who felt his road work was destroying the forest and driving away the birds. Rockefeller had cleared many trees to open up views, but he quickly convinced the protestors that he was opening up access to the forest for all to enjoy. As for the birds, very

little of the forest had been disturbed and the effect on habitat was negligible.<sup>25</sup> The protest was a minor one, but it was a harbinger of stronger controversy to come.

Rockefeller was now planning roads that would extend beyond his estate boundaries. The new road along Jordan Stream would involve crossing land belonging to the Hancock County Trustees of Public Reservations.<sup>26</sup> The Trustees had been organized in August 1901 by a committee of summer residents who wanted to protect the island's mountain summits and other scenic spots from development or exploitation and the island's diverse forest from logging. Some of the organizers included John S. Kennedy of Philadelphia, a wealthy banker who helped purchase several important tracts; railway magnate George W. Vanderbilt; the Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts; Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard College; and George B. Dorr, the son of a wealthy Boston family with a gracious home at Bar Harbor and future Superintendent of Acadia National Park. These men would all play important roles in the coming debate over the Rockefeller carriage roads. Eliot was the first president of the Trustees, and Dorr was its vice president and executive officer. The Hancock County Trustees modeled their organization after the Massachusetts Trustees for Public Reservations, organized in 1892 by Eliot's son Charles. The younger Eliot, who had enjoyed hikes and rambles about the island before his untimely death in 1897, is credited with the suggesting that a similar organization be established to protect the wild scenic beauty of Mount Desert Island. The Trustees pursued their plans diligently, ultimately assembling about a third of the land making up the present national park, including Cadillac Mountain, parts of the rocky island coast, Eagle Lake and the Sieur de Monts Spring. Under its charter, the Trustees could acquire land but could not sell it, though it could exchange land or transfer it to other entities which would hold it similarly in the public interest.<sup>27</sup>

Rockefeller asked to purchase a right-of-way in order to build a road segment across the upper end of Long Pond. The Trustees declined his request, stating that the lands were held in public trust and could not be returned to private ownership.

Rockefeller then asked for permission to construct the road at his own expense, leaving it open for public use provided

automobiles would be permanently banned from using it. Again, the trustees declined, as the prohibition would constitute an easement on the lands they were considering to transfer to the federal government. However, they offered Rockefeller the opportunity to build the road with the understanding that the government might not accede to the automobile prohibition. Rockefeller agreed to the offer and directed his crews to complete the segment around the pond.<sup>28</sup> This compromise marked the beginning of a long association between Rockefeller and the Trustees and their ultimate successor on the island, Acadia National Park.

Clement's roads appear on a 1916 path map of the eastern part of Mount Desert Island. The map shows the road loop around Barr Hill, the new road around Long Pond and the spur from Redfield Hill to the Jordan Pond House. The map indicates a small portion of the Long Pond loop crossed Reservation lands. A spur ran east to the Jordan Pond Road opposite the end of the Wildwood Farm Road, a farm road out of Seal Harbor.<sup>29</sup>

In June 1916, Clement wrote Rockefeller that he had completed the roads around the house and had surfaced the Barr Hill and Jordan Pond roads. He had a crew at work on a road over Gardiner Hill and he and Joy both had crews working on the Mitchell Hill-Jordan Pond road.<sup>30</sup> That fall, Rockefeller wrote Clement, urging him to complete the work by late spring so that summer visitors would not criticize the ongoing work. The remaining work involved construction of a small bridge across the Long Pond outlet and a bridge over Jordan Stream, about a mile below the Jordan Pond House. The following May, Rockefeller observed that Clement was making good progress, and hoped he would have the road over Gardiner Hill and the connector to the Long Pond loop in good order by June. Clement replied that he was pushing the work as fast as he could, but complained of being unable to find enough men to prosecute the work. "We have as many men at work on the Gardiner-Mitchell Hill-Jordan Stream road as we can get," he wrote, but noted "Men are not as plenty as they were last fall."<sup>31</sup>

Rockefeller planned to extend his Long Pond carriage road loop across the south end the pond in the narrow space between it and

the county road connecting Seal Harbor and Northeast Harbor. Soon after Rockefeller had the route staked out, he was visited by Charles W. Eliot, the retired Harvard President, president of the Trustees, and symbolic leader of the Northeast Harbor summer community. Eliot expressed concerns that the carriage road, if built as staked, would block the view of Long Pond from the county road. This view, looking straight up the pond towards the gorge between Penobscot and Pemetic mountains, was considered by Eliot to be the most beautiful view on the island. He implored Rockefeller to change his location so that the carriage road crossed Long Pond on a line lower than the county road, preserving the cherished view for all to enjoy. Rockefeller agreed to the change in line, and in doing so, gained an invaluable ally in Eliot.<sup>32</sup> The "Old Man" was widely respected on the island, and his support would prove invaluable when controversy erupted over the extension of the carriage roads.

That winter, Rockefeller visited the island and walked over the planned Brown Mountain-Jordan Pond and Gardiner-Mitchell Hill-Jordan Stream roads, as he called them, with Charles Simpson. Simpson's planned route to connect his estate with Brown Mountain would carry the road high into the Amphitheatre, a particularly lovely wooded valley between Jordan and Cedar Swamp mountains, and Rockefeller wrote that he was "simply delighted with the line throughout. It will make a wonderful road." Simpson estimated the cost of construction of the three mile segment through the area at \$50,000, or likely more.<sup>33</sup>

In 1917, Rockefeller prepared a memorandum outlining his planned roads. He now called the Brown Mountain Road "Road No. 1, the Asticou-Jordan Pond Road", describing it as a 16-wood road extending from the Brown Mountain Road, climbing the south section of Sargent Mountain (the part now known as Cedar Swamp Mountain) to the Amphitheatre, near which would be a "circle" to allow carriage users to take in the view. It would then run around Jordan Mountain to reach Jordan Pond, crossing Jordan Stream just below the Pond. Road No. 2, connecting the above-mentioned road with the Gardiner-Mitchell Hill-Jordan Stream Road, would leave the Asticou road on the southwest side of Jordan Mountain and lead to the Rockefeller estate by way of the west side of Mitchell Hill. Road No. 3 would be a narrower

bridle path, crossing Harbor Brook well below the Amphitheatre and allowing for a loop through this favorite area. Road No. 4 was to be a another bridle trail through the Amphitheatre valley,<sup>34</sup> but this route was never built.

Rockefeller let contracts for his bridges separately. For the first bridges, he used Byron W. Candage and his son, Samuel, of Seal Harbor. The first major structure built by Candage crossed Jordan Stream a mile below the Jordan Pond House. Rockefeller had planned for a granite-faced concrete arch bridge, but his engineer, Charles Simpson, urged the use of native cobbles, or rounded stones from the streambed instead. "Cobblestone Bridge," [HAER No. ME-31], as it came to be called, is a peculiarity of the system. Though Mr. Rockefeller was tremendously pleased with its appearance, no more bridges on the system employed cobble facings. Reportedly, the Candages had found it difficult to locate sufficient quantities of the rounded stone, and urged that all new bridges be constructed of quarried stone.<sup>35</sup>

In the fall of 1917, Rockefeller began planning yet another road, a bridle path following Jordan stream to the west of the upper section of the Gardiner-Mitchell Hill-Jordan Stream Road above Cobblestone Bridge. He secured a \$8,209 bid for the 4,000' road from Clement. He told his contractor that \$2.00 a foot for a 10' road struck him as a very high price, but stated understood the figure because he wanted every tree not standing in the route of the road saved, and instead of damaging the roots of the remaining roadside trees, he would want to have the roadway filled above the roots. Clement was to take no boulders from the stream or anywhere in sight of the road, and Because the extra landscape considerations would add considerably to the construction costs, Rockefeller accepted Clement's bid and the work got underway.<sup>36</sup> This protection of trees along the road would be characteristic of the future Rockefeller roads on the island.

The new surge of road-building coincided with a dramatic increase in Rockefeller's personal fortune. His father began transferring the vast portion of his wealth to his son in an effort to avoid the new inheritance laws, which that year were increased to 25 percent on estates of \$10 million or more. By 1921, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. controlled a fortune estimated at nearly \$500

million, and it grew to nearly \$1 billion by the end of the decade.<sup>37</sup> Rockefeller took little calculated action to expand the fortune, but rather devoted a considerable part of it to his philanthropic and conservation interests, an important part of which was the work on Mount Desert Island.

#### NATIONAL MONUMENT, NATIONAL PARK

With Rockefeller's road work only a few years along, the Hancock County Trustees for Public Reservations successfully managed to have the federal government designate the greater part of the Reservation land as the Sieur de Monts National Monument.<sup>38</sup> George B. Dorr, who had labored hard through the difficult political process, was appointed as the new monument's first supervisor. Rockefeller at first was uneasy with the proposal, asking his new friend Eliot "Do you not feel that the establishment of this monument will bring an undesirable class of tourists to Bar Harbor in their automobiles who, if automobiles are admitted to the south side of the Island, will be a real nuisance to the residents there?" Nevertheless, he was willing to support the Trustees in their decision and gave them \$17,500 to help with the boundary work necessary to convert the reservations into a national monument.<sup>39</sup> With the creation of the national monument on 8 July 1916, Rockefeller would enter into a long and productive association with the year-old National Park Service. He sought and gained permission to construct and extended series of roads through much of the park land and secured the government's agreement to a permanent ban on the use of automobiles over the carriage roads. The Park Service benefitted because not only did Rockefeller pay for all the road work as well but he also assembled a number of other large parcels which he subsequently donated to the park. This early association at what is now Acadia helped the Park Service secure other Rockefeller funds for major projects in a number of existing parks and for the purchase of additional park lands. The new national monument immediately proved popular. Dorr reported that 101,255 persons and 15,361 automobiles visited the unit by 2 October 1916. Largely through Dorr's efforts, Sieur de Monts National Monument was upgraded to park full status in 1919 and renamed Lafayette National Park.<sup>40</sup>

In 1917, Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane visited the new

national monument, staying with George Dorr at his estate, Oldfarm, on the shore south of Bar Harbor. While there, Rockefeller showed up and gave him a map outlining his plans for an extensive system of carriage roads covering most of the eastern part of the island. The proposed roads would be constructed on both his own land and that of the government. Rockefeller said he would construct the roads at his own expense, but needed the government's permission for work on federal land. Rockefeller took Lane home to lunch and drove him around to see what he had in mind. Lane was enthusiastic about the plans and told Rockefeller he could proceed.<sup>41</sup>

National monument designation changed the nature of Rockefeller's road work. To this point, he had largely been able to do as he pleased, as his roads were being constructed on his own land or on tracts for which he had personally obtained rights-of-way. With the creation of the national monument, however, Rockefeller had to secure the permission of the Department of the Interior for any construction on federal land. Rockefeller was evidently dissatisfied with the limited breadth of the carriage roads around his estate, and now envisioned a much more extensive system. In a letter to Dorr about the proposed connector to the Northeast Harbor bridle paths, Rockefeller admitted he was "eager to be able to get from our roads to the Brown Mountain Road and the country beyond."<sup>42</sup>

In 1920, George Dorr clarified the matter by which Rockefeller would have to secure approval. He told Rockefeller that Secretary Lane had given him the authority to approve the proposed work, and that Park Service Director Stephen T. Mather had added his consent. Dorr would be accountable for all work done in the park boundaries, so he and Rockefeller would need to cooperate in the work. However, Dorr stated he would be generally supportive of Rockefeller's plans, explaining

To the Government, as to the public, I still remain as responsible personally for all that is done as though (I) myself had done it. For this reason I should be conversant, generally or specifically according to the need, with what is planned, and be in a position to justify it upon occasion as my act. On the other hand, I have felt that the more

freely you could work things out upon your own responsibility the greater - from my own experience - your interest and pleasure in the work. . . .<sup>43</sup>

Dorr was giving vague assurances of a free hand, but Rockefeller would come to wish Dorr had been more specific about his role as the mercurial and unpredictable superintendent would at times make unexpected demands or requests for alterations in the work.

While Rockefeller was building his first carriage roads, the Northeast Harbor Village Improvement Society was engaged in constructing the aforementioned series of "bridle paths" extending from the village to scenic points in the island's mountain fastnesses. The VIS Bridle Path Committee intended to link their roads with Rockefeller's to form an interconnected system; however, they were unable to raise all the funds to complete their work. When their project languished, Rockefeller made plans to connect the existing Northeast Harbor paths with his new Brown Mountain-Jordan Pond Road, a full-width carriage road.<sup>44</sup> The route had been surveyed by Charles Simpson in 1915, and work was underway by 1920.

At the beginning of 1920, George Dorr warned Rockefeller that a general impression was developing that Mount Desert Island was a place for wealthy people only, and that the park was developing the carriage roads for the pleasure of the wealthy summer residents. Over the last two years, occasional criticisms had been submitted to members of Congress who forwarded them along to the Park Service. Dorr stated that the criticism had been dealt with so far, but should the point be brought up before Congress when the question of the annual park appropriation came up, it would be difficult to dispel the impression. He felt the work would be supported, but urged Rockefeller to move with special care to avoid an open controversy.<sup>45</sup> This, however, was exactly what happened.

The approach of the roads to Northeast Harbor was welcomed by many of the village residents, but one influential resident, Congressman George Wharton Pepper of Pennsylvania, wrote Rockefeller a startling letter, complimenting him on his work but asking him to cease his construction of roads in the Northeast

Harbor sector. This request soon became the focus of an open controversy over the Rockefeller road program.

#### FIRST CONTROVERSY

Rockefeller's proposed connector to the Northeast Harbor bridle path system would involve road construction through the upper reaches of the narrow valley between Cedar Swamp and Penobscot mountains, an isolated area crossed only by steep foot trails. The Philadelphia congressman argued that the area's charm was rooted in its isolation. If a road were to penetrate this "as yet unbroken forest--a wilderness of tree tops," its charm would be lost. The area's "sense of remoteness" would be destroyed by the "realization of accessibility." Pepper assured Rockefeller that he was expressing his concerns only because he had come to the island for thirty years and wanted to preserve its rustic charm.<sup>46</sup> In effect, he was voicing a common conservation argument, that wild lands deserved protection from development, including roads, which in making wilderness accessible, robbed it of its charms.

Although unconvinced by Pepper's arguments, Rockefeller did not want to push the matter and antagonize the Pepper and his allies, other members of the summer community. He wrote Pepper, stating that even though he had the proper authorization from the National Park Service to proceed with the work, he was suspending the work on the connecting road (the Jordan Pond-Brown Mountain carriage road) until the entire scheme could be studied by those concerned. He also indicated that the work would not resume unless the project was generally accepted by the islanders.<sup>47</sup>

Rockefeller offered to meet with Pepper and any other opponents to go over the route of the proposed road system. He indicated that careful consideration had been given to the road planning, and that each element was being built as part of an overall road scheme. He also assured Pepper and the others that any scars from construction would quickly disappear as nature did its work. Nevertheless, he insisted that he would not pursue the work while it was still being questioned.<sup>48</sup>

The matter was brought before the village improvement societies

of Seal Harbor and Northeast Harbor, both controlled by summer cottagers. Rockefeller received the support of the Seal Harbor VIS by only one vote, but the people of Northeast Harbor supported him unanimously. Other supporters wrote Rockefeller urging him to continue with the work. Several petitions were submitted on behalf of the carriage road scheme, and the *Bar Harbor Times* published editorials urging approval of Rockefeller's plans.<sup>49</sup>

By now, there was another major factor for consideration. In addition to the carriage roads, which were restricted to horse, carriage and pedestrian use, Rockefeller was now prepared to construct an motor road for automotive visitors. While Rockefeller probably did not want to encourage automobile use in the park, he was concerned that the increasing trend of visitation to parks by motorists would result in pressures to open the carriage roads to automobile use. His fear was that with the park inaccessible to motorists, they would begin to clamor to take their cars over the carriage roads in order to enjoy access to the same wild scenery. Indeed, some cars were already entering the system despite signs prohibiting their use. The park was virtually inaccessible to automobiles. While one could drive from Bar Harbor to the Sieur de Monts Spring, the first area included in the park, or take county roads along the coast in numerous areas, they were banned from the wild interior of the island encompassed within the park. Sooner or later, he reasoned, they would demand the same access as the carriage crowd, which George Dorr had already warned him was being construed as an elitist group of wealthy summer visitors who wanted to maintain the island for their own personal enjoyment. Dorr had wanted to build such a road himself, but had no funds in the limited budget available to Lafayette National Park. Eventually, The National Park Service, following a policy established by its first director, Mather, that each park should be accessible by one good road, agreed to proposals by Dorr and other parties interested in the development of the park, to construct a road to the summit of Green (Cadillac) Mountain, the highest point on the island. A toll road to the mountain top had previously existed, as well as a cog railway, a summit hotel, and other improvements. Therefore, construction of a new motor road would not represent the desecration of an untouched wild

mountain. Rockefeller endorsed the proposal and offered to build a connecting road from the terminus of the new summit road and Jordan Pond. It would be called "the Mountain Road."<sup>50</sup>

Another factor in the proposal for motor roads may have been Rockefeller's increasing obsession with road construction. He was finishing up the work on the 60-mile carriage path system at Pocantico Hills and working with his sons and the Harriman interests on the construction of the Palisades Parkway, a scenic motor road connecting New York City with Bear Mountain State Park. At the same time, he was beginning to fund roadside cleanup in Yellowstone National Park. The Acadia motor road proposal was only one of several road projects to which Rockefeller was simultaneously attending.<sup>51</sup>

Rockefeller was now planning the extension of his carriage roads farther north into the heart of Lafayette National Park. The key was a road along the west sides of Jordan Pond and Eagle Lake, providing a connection to the Bar Harbor-Somesville road (now Maine Route 233). Rockefeller had his surveyor investigate the route, then agreed to construct the road. This was not to be an isolated project; in a letter to Dorr, he indicated he was prepared to ultimately construct a full network of roads through the eastern half of the island. Rockefeller indicated that the Jordan Pond-Eagle Lake would form a first part of a grand loop around Jordan, Sargent and Cedar Swamp mountains, subject, of course, to park approval. Construction of this loop would require the completion of the suspended road project connecting Jordan Pond with the Hadlock Ponds area. However, Rockefeller stated that planning for this contested section was only being done in case the road was ever "deemed advisable." In addition to the carriage roads, the map accompanying the proposal indicated the route of the planned motor road through the park from Bar Harbor to the south end of Jordan Pond, and another motor road up Cadillac Mountain. Rockefeller offered to provide \$150,000 for the construction of the "Mountain Road" motor road. The entire offer was to be considered as a package, to be accepted or declined in full. Dorr sent the proposal along to the National Park Service.<sup>52</sup>

In May 1921, Rockefeller wrote Dorr urging an article be

submitted to the *Bar Harbor Times* listing the proposed road projects. In addition to the newly announced Mountain Road motor road project and the park road to the summit of Cadillac Mountain, Rockefeller wanted the article to indicate his proposed roads:

- a carriage road around Jordan and Sargent mountains
- a road down the west side of Eagle Lake to Jordan Pond
- the completion of the Amphitheatre Road
- a connecting road between the Amphitheatre Road and Gardiner-Mitchell Hill Road
- a bridle path up Little Harbor Brook

Rockefeller thought it important that Dorr state that there were no plans to construct any motor or horse road to the summit of any mountain except the proposed road to the summit of Cadillac Mountain. He felt that much of the opposition arose from fears that the mountaintops would be desecrated, and assurances that no other such roads were contemplated would satiate some opponents.<sup>53</sup> (Rockefeller would later abandon this policy by building a carriage road to the summit of Day Mountain.)

The first three roads listed by Rockefeller would form an 11-mile loop around the Jordan-Sargent-Cedar Swamp mountain mass. This circuit would allow riders to take in the shores of the two largest lakes on the eastern side of the island, enjoy views from the high shoulder of the island's second highest mountain, and travel through the wild and scenic Amphitheatre between Cedar Swamp and Jordan mountains. The latter two roads would provide a connection between the new mountain circuit and the Rockefeller estate road system.

Pepper and his allies greeted the new proposal with open hostility. While the road through the Amphitheatre represented a serious threat to a favored retreat, the motor roads would represent an entirely new level of intrusion. The achievement of climbing to the Cadillac's summit would become inconsequential, and the opponents of the plan protested that their favorite pastime of roaming the island's wild haunts would be disrupted by the intrusive presence of roads and vehicles. Furthermore, the roads would attract an entirely new constituency, the automotive

tourist, to the island, forever changing the nature of Mount Desert as a reclusive, sophisticated resort. For the next decade and a half, the controversy would rage on the island.

George Dorr did not want the dispute to diminish Mr. Rockefeller's interest in continuing his improvements. Dorr, who had helped develop the island's remarkable foot trail network, personally understood the concerns for the wild scenery being addressed by Pepper and the other opponents. However, he recognized that Rockefeller stood in the unique position to help implement his own expanded vision for the national park, and did not want him to abandon his road projects.

To help persuade Rockefeller to continue with the planned carriage road along Eagle Lake and Jordan Pond, Dorr told Rockefeller the park was in need of a woods road "to enable our rangers to pass readily between the northern and southern sides of our mountain range, for wildlife and woods protection if nothing more." He had in mind a route running along the west side of Jordan Pond beyond the Bubbles toward Eagle Lake.<sup>54</sup>

Stephen Mather, the Park Service Director, and his assistant, Arno B. Cammerer, came to the park in June 1922 to inspect Rockefeller's proposed work. While Mather spent most of the trip relaxing and left after a few days, Cammerer stayed on in the park to study the proposed scheme. Superintendent Dorr presented the broad program of roads (and also foot trails, a matter of particular interest to him) on a map, stating that the new roads and trails were necessary to provide "a basic communication system" for the park. Dorr took Cammerer to see carriage roads already under construction.<sup>55</sup>

In his report, Cammerer suggested approving the road program. He justified the construction, stating that many visitors were incapable "or less strenuously inclined" to tramp over the parks often steep trails. It was incumbent on the Park Service, he said, "to make reasonably accessible the features of special interest and beauty in the park," and the carriage roads and new foot trails would both allow for this and perhaps establish Lafayette National Park as "the most popular place of resort for lovers of nature and landscape to the eastward of the Great Lakes

and Mississippi."<sup>56</sup>

He reported that he was impressed that the roads made provided vistas previously unavailable to visitors, and repeated Dorr's argument that the roads were necessary for fire and game protection. Having looked over the roads on the ground from various vantage points, he was pleased to report they were generally invisible from the park's mountain vistas. They were only visible where they crossed rock slides, and it might even be possible to conceal them there by shifting boulders and using weathered rock walls.<sup>57</sup>

After reviewing the proposal, Mather rejected several extensions and apparent duplications of roads, and Dorr submitted a second plan incorporating the revisions. Cammerer stated the remaining roads were "essential" to the park and noted that many areas of the park would remain accessible only by foot. He suggested that numerous individuals might be expected to contribute funds for the roads and the acquisition of the property they would have to cross. Because considerable additional land would be required for the scheme, he urged that the report be kept confidential, lest property prices would be driven up.<sup>58</sup> Mather then gave his approval for the work, ordering Cammerer to work out the details.

On 26 July 1922, Assistant Secretary of the Interior E. C. Finney approved a blue-print map submitted by Rockefeller outlining his proposals for road construction in the park. Parts of the broad network of new carriage roads would cross park lands; others would be located on parcels he was personally moving to acquire.<sup>59</sup>

Cammerer immediately notified that consent had been given for the construction program. He stated that both he and Finney were convinced the proposed roads would "enable the enjoyment of the wonderful natural beauties within the Lafayette National Park by all visitors, without marring the beauties of the landscape in any way, or intruding upon areas that should be preserved for quietude (sic) and repose." Indeed, the plans indicated that "special attention" had been devoted to the Amphitheatre section, the Sargent Mountain Road, and numerous other secluded areas. Whenever Dorr had sufficient donations, he was to proceed with

the work.<sup>60</sup>

The "donations" were of course Rockefeller funds. Under the road-building policy, the work within the park boundaries would technically be carried out by the park. The new connecting road between Eagle Lake and Jordan Pond, proposed by Dorr and incorporated into the road proposal, was ostensibly a government project, but Rockefeller provided the funding, his engineer oversaw the work, and his contractors--Clement and Joy--did the work. Rockefeller even drew up the contracting papers for Dorr's signature. This practice was followed for most of the subsequent construction over park lands.<sup>61</sup> The work was underway that season.

To the west, Rockefeller was simultaneously building the West Sargent Mountain Road, now the western segment of the "Around the Mountain" loop. The new road would leave the Brown Mountain area and run north, climbing to an elevation of more than 700' on the shoulder of Sargent Mountain, the highest point reached by the carriage roads. From this point, the road would offer stunning views of the island's western mountains and Frenchman and Blue Hill bays. Welles Bosworth designed two grand stone bridges, Hemlock and Waterfall, for this section. The two spans, located less than a hundred yards apart near the junction of the Hadlock and Maple Spring streams, were both built by B. W. Candage and Son. Waterfall Bridge overlooks a lovely cascade; the Hadlock Brook trail passes under the span and frames the hiker's view of the waterfall in its round arch. Hemlock Bridge is a gothic-arched structure, its pointed arch probably chosen as appropriate for its setting in a dark hemlock grove, reflecting the pointy tips of the majestic trees. Majestic bridges of this nature became hallmarks of the carriage road system.

As the work proceeded, Rockefeller's nemesis, George Wharton Pepper, now U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania, opposed the latest undertakings and attempted to use his new position to block the work. In January 1924, Senator Pepper, with two other summer residents, Harold Peabody and Mrs. Eliot Wadsworth, met with Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work to protest the continuing road construction. Pepper stated that while he had great respect for both Rockefeller and Dorr, he felt they were keeping the

planned work secret so that the construction could be carried out without arousing protests from the summer residents. The three complainants were generally opposed to all road work in the park, including the proposed motor road from Jordan Pond to Eagle Lake and the Cadillac Mountain Road. They were especially critical of the "road trails" or carriage roads, stating that the areas they would traverse were already served by foot trails, and that there was no assurance they ultimately would not become motor roads. They also strongly criticized Rockefeller's stone bridges as more appropriate for Central Park than for the national park. Urged by them to hold a hearing over the matter, the Secretary agreed to call one in March. In the meantime, he told them he would order the road work suspended.<sup>62</sup>

On hearing about the decision from Cammerer, Dorr wrote back immediately, protesting that a suspension would throw many men out of work. Only one carriage road was under construction on park land, the route on the west side of Jordan Pond. The difficult "Tumbledown" rockslide had already been passed, and no bridge work was underway. He asked Cammerer to ensure that representatives from the various village improvement associations and the Trustees of Public Reservations be invited to participate in the hearing. A few days later, Cammerer cabled back that work could continue on the Mountain Road motor road and the carriage road west of the pond, but no new construction should be started.<sup>63</sup>

Dorr then sent a longer letter to clarify the situation. No carriage road work was proceeding "on government lands" except for the road west of Jordan Pond. Dorr stated that this road was less than a rod in width and would be visible only where it crossed "the Tumbledown." Here, great care was being taken that only weathered stone would show and the road would be inconspicuous. Dorr insisted that the road was essential for patrol purposes and that, had donated funds not become available, he would have asked for an appropriation to construct it, as it would provide the first access between the northern and southern sections of the park west of Eagle Lake.<sup>64</sup>

Dorr pointed out that Pepper and his supporters had failed to realize that the road-building that was the chief object of their

attacks was being carried out on private land belonging to Rockefeller, not within the park boundaries. Even if he desired to stop it, Dorr said he would be powerless to do so. Yes, the lands would probably be offered to the government for inclusion in the park once the roads were complete, but as things stood, he had no control over the situation. In summary, he stated that there had been no deviation from the approved road plan.<sup>65</sup>

Indeed, Rockefeller was constructing his roads on lands which he had purchased, ultimately intending to donate most of them to the park, or on lands owned by the Trustees of Public Reservations. The Trustees also intended to donate their remaining holdings on the island, but held back until Rockefeller had completed his work.

In case his opponents were to prevail at the upcoming hearing, Rockefeller directed his engineer, Paul Simpson, who had succeeded his father in the work, to push the remaining construction on the Jordan Pond-Eagle Lake Road as quickly as possible. As this work was already underway, he could continue with its construction, but just to be on the safe side, he hoped as much of the route could be chopped out before the hearing began. In March, Simpson wrote that he had crews chopping out the lines as quickly as possible, and that Dorr was urging as much possible work as was possible before the hearing. Simpson was endeavoring to complete the planning for the Chasm Brook section of the Jordan-Sargent Mountain Road and in order for crews to start work on clearing this section before the hearings. This latter section would connect the West Sargent Mountain Road with the road along Eagle Lake, completing the loop around the central mountain massif.<sup>66</sup>

While Pepper and some of the other summer residents continued to protest the work, many of the island's permanent residents and its civic and business interests expressed support for the Rockefeller road program. The Ellsworth and Southwest Harbor boards of trade, the Maine Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture League, the Portland Chamber of Commerce, the Maine League of Women Voters, and the Maine Central Railroad Company all urged the completion of the planned road system. In separate meetings, assemblies of voters from Bar Harbor, Southwest Harbor, Mt.

Desert and Tremont all endorsed the work.<sup>67</sup>

George Dorr used his considerable political skills and connections to rally the Maine congressional delegation, the governor, and other civic leaders. Members of Maine's congressional delegation, recognizing the value of the roads in attracting more visitors to the island and therefore boosting the state's tourism revenues, enthusiastically supported the extension of the roads. Maine Governor Percival P. Baxter wrote Secretary Work urging approval of the Rockefeller plan, believing that roads would open up the park to the public and afford protection against forest fires. He called attention to the "public spirit" of the summer residents who would spend large sums of money in the public interest, and stated that the majority of the state's residents would favor the combination of motor and carriage roads. He announced that he would send the State Fish and Game Commissioner, Willis E. Parsons, to the hearing to speak on his behalf for the road program.<sup>68</sup>

The *Bangor Commercial* suggested that Senator Pepper, being a summer resident of the island, was opposed to the road construction only because it would attract more residents to the island, which the paper thought an invalid argument for a member of the United States Senate to take. It pointed out that if he wanted an exclusive retreat, there were other resorts he might patronize.<sup>69</sup> The *Bangor Evening Express* noted that the opponents were "from outside of Maine," and that their desire to prevent the road work was motivated by selfishness.

having summer homes in that vicinity they do not wish to have their seclusion disturbed. In other words, they would sacrifice the desires of a great majority for their own personal pleasure. On the other hand Mr. Rockefeller, who is most directly concerned, and whose privacy would be most directly interfered with, is patriotic and public-spirited enough to wish to have others enjoy with him the beautiful scenery and privileges which he enjoys.<sup>70</sup>

The *Bar Harbor Times* suggested in an editorial that the controversy was rooted in "the old opposition between the generous who

wish to share and those who do not," and that Pepper and his backers simply did not want a larger public to enjoy the island. It stated the island's permanent residents largely favored the extension of the roads; the opposition was being expressed only by some members of the summer community.<sup>71</sup>

Some summer residents supported the Rockefeller roads as well. Beatrix Farrand, a prominent landscape gardener who had a summer home, Reef Point, at Bar Harbor, and who would later become intimately involved in designing plantings for the carriage roads, wrote Director Mather in favor of the road plan. She rejected the argument that the roads would cause irremediable scarring of the landscape, as proper plantings would conceal the damage. "An omelet is not made without breaking eggs," she said, and in time the damage caused by construction would not be noticed.<sup>72</sup> A number of other summer cottagers also wrote in favor of the roads and the recreational opportunities they would afford.

Senator Pepper argued that the question was not whether or not local people should be employed, but what was the best for the development of the park and those who used it. He was in favor of hiking trails, bridle paths, and "a very few roads to strategic centers, and to typical viewpoints, such roads to be available for automobiles." But he complained that the horse roads "laid out in the theory that every part of the Park should be made accessible for horse-drawn vehicles." Without mentioning Rockefeller by name, he called the plan "a rich man's folly." Visitors in automobiles would be indignant on finding they could not use these roads. The National Park Service was surrendering control of the park to an "oil man;" the plan was simply "a rich man's hobby." Pepper said he could accept automobile roads up Cadillac Mountain and along the east side of Eagle Lake on to the Jordan Pond House, but thought no roads of any sort should be allowed in the Bubble Pond valley, the area west of Eagle Lake, and especially in the Amphitheatre, the original focus of the controversy. To Pepper, the carriage roads already constructed or being constructed were "a detriment to the Park and of no real use to the public." He rejected the argument that the roads would be of value for fire protection, as Rockefeller and Dorr had announced they would be "planted out" to make them

practically invisible. Such plantings would render them useless as fire lanes, and anyway, even Somes Sound would probably not stop a major fire.<sup>73</sup>

Pepper garnered a significant number of other summer cottagers in opposition to the road program. Travel writer Herbert Gleason, writing in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, reported that many summer residents feared the roads would "bring in a 'peanut crowd' of the Coney Island type," littering the park with egg shells, banana peels, and old tin cans. The opponents reportedly spoke of fears that the park would be "gridironed" with roads, and its natural beauty would be desecrated.<sup>74</sup>

The debate raged on into the spring, when the long-awaited hearing was finally held in Secretary Work's office on 26 March 1924. George Dorr had carefully orchestrated a response by supporters of the roads, filing letters newspaper editorials and petitions in support of the road program. He rounded up a number of influential parties to attend the meeting and speak in support. In addition to Commissioner Parsons, representing Governor Baxter, congressmen Wallace White and Ira G. Hershey and Senator Frederick Hale were present in support. Other supporters included Dr. Clarence Little, President of the University of Maine; Dr. Phillips, who represented Southwest Harbor in the state legislature; Rockefeller's agent, George Stebbins; Seal Harbor contractor Chauncey Joy, then constructing some of the roads for Rockefeller; Fred C. Lyman, vice-chairman of the Bar Harbor Village Improvement Association; Bar Harbor selectman Clarence E. Dow; Professor William Otis Sawtelle of Haverford, Maine, an educator and summer resident of Little Cranberry Island, Oliver L. Hall, editor of the *Bangor Daily Commercial* and Sam E. Conner, city editor of the *Lewiston Journal*; Roselle Woodbridge Huddilston, representing the Maine League of Women Voters; and representatives of the Maine Automobile Association and other state civic groups. Robert Sterling Yard, representing the National Parks Association, and Herbert Gleason, Parks Inspector under Secretary Lane, were also in attendance. Dorr raised funds by subscription to allow several of these to attend; others paid their own expenses. Thirty-two letters of support were sent in by others including President Eliot, Senator Bert

Fernald, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, Beatrix Farrand, industrialist Edsel Ford and William F. Rodgers, former president of the Appalachian Mountain Club.<sup>75</sup>

Harold Peabody, chairman of the Bar Harbor Village Improvement Association's Path Committee, sharply criticized construction of roads in the area around Upper Hadlock Pond, where many trails constructed by the Northeast Harbor VIS were being crossed by the carriage paths. George Dorr then solemnly rose and stated that Peabody was misinformed, and that none of the land crossed by the carriage roads in the Hadlock Pond area lay in the park, but was wholly private property owned by Mr. Rockefeller. Indeed, in a series of quiet transactions, Rockefeller had purchased lands and rights of way for the road outside the existing park boundaries. He could, of course, continue the construction on his own land unhindered.<sup>76</sup>

The hearing dragged on. Dr. Work finally announced that he would render no decision immediately, but would come to Maine that summer and look into the matter himself. When he arrived in August, Dorr conveyed him around the park to show him the work, but he refused to leave his car for a planned carriage trip. While there, he met again with Peabody, to the alarm of Dorr. However, when Work departed, he stated again that while no new road work was to be commenced on park lands, construction already in progress could continue.

Rockefeller now began construction of a road around Eagle Lake, using land lying in the watershed area obtained by the Trustees of Public Reservations, and which had not yet been transferred to the park. Harold Peabody wrote Dr. Work to complain that a new road project had begun, contrary to the Secretary's prohibition against new construction. Dr. Work had NPS Associate Director A. E. Demaray contact Dorr, who replied that once again, the land over which the road was being built did not belong to the park, and that the federal government had no jurisdiction in the matter. Rockefeller was never delayed, and in 1926 the Eagle Lake Road was completed as far as the old "Wood Road" at the lake, which provided a connection with the town road.<sup>77</sup>

By this time, Mr. Rockefeller's objectives had apparently

changed. While he had first intended only to provide a series of restricted roads for pleasure driving, he now saw them as an opportunity to allow the public to experience the heartland portions of Lafayette National Park which they might otherwise miss. The carriage roads would allow them to see many of the park's charms, and offer easy access to many of the foot trails. Once he had determined on this new objective, he made plans to greatly expand the scope of the road-building work.

Rockefeller clearly envisioned Acadia in the light of urban parks, where discreet pockets of "wilderness" were easily accessible from pleasure drives and paths. He later told Arno Cammerer, then Director of the National Park Service, he wanted Acadia to be "a real gem of the first water among national parks," and to him this meant a park whose mysteries were accessible with moderate ease.<sup>78</sup> The old summer residents wanted the island to retain its truly wild character, accessible only by woodland trails. Many of them may have opposed any development because they wanted to discourage the general public from flocking to the island and disrupting their pleasures, but others clearly objected to the Rockefeller roads over preservation concerns. Rockefeller ultimately won the fight and the roads were built, but the character of the national park would be forever changed.

In July 1924, Dorr submitted a new map to Director Mather showing the park roads, both motor roads and carriage roads, which were either already under construction or whose construction was immediately contemplated, all of which had been previously approved. In addition to the motor roads, which are not the province of this report, he described the proposed loop road encircling the Sargent Mountain mass. In Dorr's opinion, this road was "of high importance, not alone for its exhibition of beautiful park scenery to those who cannot or who do not wish to climb," but also for fire and game protection purposes. The road was more than half complete, and the remainder on park land was under construction, except for a brief gap. He also listed the road along the east shore of Eagle Lake, and urged that a planned bridle path connecting it with Bubble Pond, lying across lands belonging to the Trustees of Public Reservations, be completed. On 25 July, Dr. Work approved the completion of the Sargent

Mountain loop for the use of carriages and horses, directing that "its completion should be pushed." As the road from Eagle Lake to Bubble Pond would not be located on federal land, he made no comment concerning it. Work again insisted that any future projects would have to be approved by his office.<sup>79</sup>

Having received Secretary Work's approval, Rockefeller pushed his work forward at an unprecedented rate. To handle the increased work load, he directed his estate superintendent, S. F. Ralston, to manage all construction matters. Paul Simpson, who had succeeded his father as chief planner for the road work, was engineer for the remaining carriage road construction.

On 25 June 1924, Dorr wrote Rockefeller, noting that while as park superintendent he remained ultimately responsible for supervision of the road construction, he thought it would be useful for the immediate supervision to be carried out by a committee comprised of Assistant Superintendent Lynam as chairman; Clarence E. Dow, chairman of the Bar Harbor selectmen; Simpson and park engineer Hill. He pointed out that Park Service policy left him responsible for landscape concerns, and that this would remain under his own supervision and require a separate appropriation and accounting.<sup>80</sup> After conferring with his personal secretary, Charles O. Heydt, Rockefeller appointed such a road committee to oversee the work. Not surprisingly, he installed members who he could expect to represent his views; these included Ralston, Simpson, and A. H. Lynam, a Bar Harbor attorney who had assisted Mr. Rockefeller in putting together the various land parcels necessary for the extension of the roads. Under the new arrangement, Rockefeller would allocate the required funds to the committee, and Lynam sent requisitions for the needed amounts to be placed in the account. Heydt would report on how the funds were to be disbursed, and Rockefeller would approve their release.<sup>81</sup>

Although he had worked on the roads since the beginning of the system in 1915, A. E. Clement now withdrew from the work. He had been accustomed to working directly with Rockefeller and Simpson, and found the new committee structure intolerable. While he did not intervene to keep Clement on the job, Rockefeller commended his neighbor and first contractor for his admirable work on the Jordan Pond-Eagle Lake Road.

The work you have done on the road, particularly at the slide and both sides of it, is such work as it would be difficult to find the equal of any place. The road will long stand as a monument to your road-building ability. . . It is a pleasure to speak thus unqualifiedly of what you have accomplished.<sup>82</sup>

Chauncey Joy adjusted to the new scheme of things and continued to build some roads for Rockefeller under contract. Other roads were constructed by work crews assembled by Ralston. Some bridge work continued to be done by the Candages, the rest by Ralston's crews.

The main emphasis was now on the road system around Sargent Mountain, most of which would be located across land acquired by Rockefeller. As this largely entailed construction on his own property, he did not have to seek approval from the Interior Department. A small segment crossed park land, and Rockefeller secured approval for its construction. The remainder of the road around the north and west sides of the mountain mass crossed Rockefeller property. Sensitive to the recent controversy, Rockefeller announced no plans to resume work on the suspended section through the Amphitheatre, though this road would be necessary to complete the loop.

A 1926 map of the eastern part of the island shows much of the carriage road system complete. The "Around the Mountain" loop is finished, as is the road along the west side of Eagle Lake. Work was in progress on new roads in the Bubble Pond area and on the east side of Pemetic Mountain, and on a road connecting Eagle Lake with isolated Aunt Betty Pond.<sup>83</sup>

In December 1926, he directed Paul Simpson to prepare new copies of a blueprint showing a proposed road from Jordan Pond around the Triads to Bubble Pond, and a connecting road from Bubble Pond to Eagle Lake, this road continuing around the south end of the lake to the road on the west side, so as to form a complete loop around the largest pond on the eastern side of the island. The blueprints would also show all the roads which had been completed, but it should not show new roads he and Simpson were contemplating north of Eagle Lake. He told Simpson he was

planning to send one of the blueprints to Cammerer along with an offer to finance the construction of the roads, as well as a bridge over the Mountain Road at Bubble Pond. He would send other copies to Dorr for circulation to the various village improvement societies in order that they might be fully informed and have an opportunity to express their views.<sup>84</sup>

Rockefeller was already the most important benefactor of Lafayette National Park, having provided several pivotal tracts of land and constructing the first segments of the carriage road system. The National Park Service recognized him as a potential contributor to other park projects and sought to cultivate this relationship. When he took four of his sons on a visit to Yellowstone and other western parks in 1924, Park Service Director Stephen Mather warned superintendents not to press him for assistance. However, he was to be treated as a special guest. At Yellowstone, Horace M. Albright, the park superintendent, arranged the party's schedule and met them at the beginning of their visit. From Yellowstone, they went on to Glacier National Park where they were greeted by Stephen Mather; they had already taken in Mesa Verde and the Grand Canyon. Upon his return, Rockefeller wrote Albright and Glacier superintendent Charles J. Kraebel, thanking them for their assistance and offering to contribute towards landscape improvements along the roads in Glacier and Yellowstone. Kraebel told Rockefeller he was not prepared to ask for assistance, but Albright responded enthusiastically, accepting Rockefeller's offer to fund roadside cleanup along sections of the park's Grand Loop Road. Rockefeller provided the funds for the removal of downed timber and stumps along the roads over the next six years, firmly establishing himself as a valuable ally of the parks.<sup>85</sup>

Rockefeller took his family on another trip to Yellowstone in 1926, visiting the Jackson Hole area south of the park with Horace Albright. Albright told Rockefeller the Park Service had been endeavoring to add the valley to the park system but had been unsuccessful. On his return, Rockefeller wrote back for more information, and developed a plan to purchase the valley and turn it over to the government. By 1930, he had purchased nearly 30,000 acres in the area, but public opposition prevented transfer of the land to the Park Service until 1949.<sup>86</sup> Such

support for park projects was appreciated by the National Park Service and probably reflected Rockefeller's sincere interest in conservation matters. However, as he provided more and more funding for park development, the National Park Service grew increasingly beholden to him, and was loathe to disapprove his work on Mount Desert Island. However, the agency tried to work in close cooperation with him, fitting his road construction work into a general development plan for Lafayette park.

#### TWO DEVELOPMENT PLANS, 1927

In the spring of 1927, the National Park Service announced it would formulate a general development plan for Lafayette National Park, and assigned chief landscape engineer Daniel R. Hull to prepare it. Hull, who had received a master's degree in landscape architecture from Harvard in 1914 (the first year the school offered a separate degree in the field), was hired by Stephen Mather in August 1920 as assistant landscape engineer for the National Park Service, and succeeded Charles Puncheon as division chief that November. Over the next seven years, he did extensive work at Yosemite, Mount Rainier, Yellowstone and other western parks. Under his leadership, the NPS Landscape Engineering Division firmly held to a policy that improvements in the parks must harmonize with their surroundings.<sup>87</sup> Naturally, he was the logical choice to help develop a general management plan for Lafayette National Park.

In March 1927, Gist Blair, a summer resident and president of the Bar Harbor Village Improvement Association, wrote Secretary Work about the proposed development plan. Blair asked if Work would find it useful if the various village improvement societies of island towns east of Somes Sound--Bar Harbor, Seal Harbor, and Northeast Harbor--hired their own landscape architect to cooperate with the Park Service landscape engineer, either in developing the plan together or by submitting a separate plan. He also urged Work to obtain the advice of the National Commission of Fine Arts, whose landscape representative was the president of the American Society of Landscape Architects, on the relative merits of the plans. Blair suggested that a plan prepared in cooperation with the VIAs would help diminish the ongoing controversy between the summer cottagers and permanent

residents.<sup>88</sup>

On 6 May, Secretary Work responded that he had no objection to the village improvement associations employing a landscape architect to work on a development plan. Charles W. Eliot II, City Planner for the District of Columbia, was engaged by the Bar Harbor Village Improvement Society. He was the nephew of President Eliot, who had died the year earlier.<sup>89</sup> As young Eliot's family had long maintained a summer home on the island, Eliot was well familiar with the park and the island communities. Eliot spent two days in discussion with senior Park Service officials, who learned that the Bar Harbor group had specified the report cover the possible development of the entire island and not just the national park. The park officials determined this to be an extension of purpose in which they could not directly participate, therefore Hull's plan would be prepared without Eliot's assistance.

Hull was ordered to go to the park and prepare the plan, but he refused, as he was already about to leave the Park Service to return to private practice in California. Cammerer insisted that he complete the plan, a project to which he had already agreed, but Hull ultimately refused, and Cammerer was forced to demand his resignation. Thus ended Hull's long and distinguished career with the Park Service. He was succeeded by Thomas C. Vint, a Berkeley-trained landscape architect whom Hull had hired in 1922.<sup>90</sup>

In late summer, Cammerer and Vint, newly appointed as Hull's replacement, arrived in Acadia to devote intensive study to the government policies regarding the park and the landscape problems involved in its development. The two then drafted the development plan which addressed administrative facilities, park structures and utilities, entrances, camping areas, and potential concessionaire operations, and included a thorough discussion of the existing and planned roads in the park.

In September, Cammerer and Vint submitted their 36-page "Memorandum on a Development Plan for Lafayette National Park" to Director Mather. It started out by noting that on several occasions when motor roads or carriage roads were proposed for

the park, there had been considerable opposition from a few of the summer residents. These parties had frequently written the Secretary of the Interior, asking him to withhold approval for the projects. On the other hand, the Trustees of Public Reservations and other interested parties, comprised both of summer and year-round residents, were responsible for the creation of the park and for donating the lands or raising funds to purchase the all of the park lands. The Wild Gardens of Acadia had acquired other lands for public purposes and had been instrumental in the founding of the Marine Biological Laboratory at Salisbury Cove. The report suggested that the holdings of the two organizations, both held for the common good, be factored into any long-range park planning scheme.<sup>91</sup>

The motor and carriage roads were discussed in considerable detail. Only one park road project was planned to entail federal funds, the motor road up Cadillac Mountain. All the other roads, both motor and carriage, had been constructed with funds provided by Rockefeller, with the permission of the Interior Department for sections which crossed federal land.

Cammerer and Vint praised the construction and general appearance of the carriage roads, noting they were

planned along easy grades, affording when constructed also important lanes for fire and game protection on the splendidly wooded slopes of the numerous mountains. They grow over with grass and flowers in time; and, with the arching trees overhead, will constitute one of the most attractive features of any national park; this can be proved (sic) to an unprejudiced person who has walked or ridden over the old wood roads or the so-called Corkscrew Hill Road in the northern section of the Island.<sup>92</sup>

They called attention to the bridges already constructed, stating they were of a "fine permanent type and well-suited to their situations." They were especially pleased with the Little Harbor Brook Bridge and its weathered stone facing, and had carefully inspected the location of a planned bridge near Bubble Pond which would carry a new carriage road over the "Mountain Road" motor road. Due to the high visibility of the structure, they stressed

that especial care should be devoted to its design."<sup>93</sup>

Although use of the carriage roads had been light in the beginning, the numbers of users were increasing as more of the roads were completed. However, most users were wealthy summer residents with horses and conveyances of their own. Prices for the use of hired horses and carriages were high, and the park officials suggested the Interior Department might have to install a concessionaire at contracted rates in order to provide reasonably-priced service for a broader group of park visitors."<sup>94</sup>

Two sections of carriage road for which the Secretary of the Interior had withdrawn approval, extending north and south of Bubble Pond, remained under suspension until it could be determined whether or north they would be visible from the new motor road. Cammerer and Vint inspected the proposed location "from every angle;" having determined the roads were generally hidden in the woods, they recommended approval for the two segments."<sup>95</sup>

The report noted that much of the criticism of the road construction was that it had opened up wilderness areas of the island that should have been kept in "their primeval condition." Cammerer and Vint rejected this premise, stating that there was in fact no untouched wilderness. All of Mount Desert Island had been cut over or burned over for centuries. It was criss-crossed by old wagon roads built by wood-cutters, so the construction of the carriage and motor roads would not introduce totally new elements. Indeed, by reducing the hazard from fire (Dorr's old argument), the roads would encourage the return of the remaining woods to their former beauty."<sup>96</sup>

Cammerer and Vint's report was placed on file pending the receipt of the Eliot study for the Bar Harbor VIA. Eliot's plan diverged from the Park Service proposal mainly in its recommendations concerning road development. Most of his comments addressed the motor roads on the island. As for the Rockefeller carriage roads, he found them "more suited to intimate enjoyment of beauty with less destruction" than the motor roads. However, Rockefeller's proposal to extend the roads in the Witch Hole and Bubble Pond areas and at the head of Eagle Lake raised several

concerns in Eliot's mind. While they had certain obvious benefits (providing access to scenic points, improved fire and game protection, the encouragement of riding and walking over motoring), they also presented real dilemmas. As man-made objects, the roads were destructive to the wilderness character of the area through which they passed. The scars they caused would be visible for generations. By duplicating existing trails, they discouraged walking. There was also the potential that too great a network of carriage roads would "destroy the 'scale'" of the island and park. In the worst of all scenarios, the roads might eventually become motor roads and encourage over-development. The carriage roads were receiving only light use, and he recommended a halt to their construction until a greater need had developed and proven itself. Eliot admitted a fear that the Park Service considered itself "morally bound" to allow Rockefeller to complete his carriage road system because he had just provided the park with the new motor road. Eliot's report was published under the somber title *The Future of Mount Desert Island*<sup>7</sup> but it was largely ignored. The VIA had only been able to delay the ongoing work, not gain a role in shaping its ultimate development.

On 15 November, the Bar Harbor VIA plan committee met in New York. The group accepted Eliot's report but voted unanimously in favor of the park's proposed road program. They immediately moved to notify Secretary Work of their concurrence. Work then notified Superintendent Dorr and Rockefeller that the latter's offer would be accepted, and gave permission for the construction of the road segments extending north and south from Bubble Pond and the final Eagle Lake segment. Newspapers reported that the estimated cost of the Eagle Lake and Bubble Pond horse roads would reach \$300,000.<sup>8</sup>

In late 1927, Rockefeller's crews began cutting out the route for a new set of roads running north from Eagle Lake towards Hulls Cove. The work was overseen by the "road committee" for Mr. Rockefeller. The roads would extend the system into the wild country west of Bar Harbor, and were planned to ultimately provide a connection with Frenchman Bay, making possible a carriage trip across the island from north to south. They would include a 3.5-mile loop around Witch Hole Pond, a 1-mile loop

circling Paradise Hill offering splendid views of Frenchman Bay, and a connector running south alongside the Breakneck Ponds to Eagle Lake. Rockefeller originally contemplated using the old Breakneck Road, a town road on the western side of Breakneck Brook as the connector; however, there were problems in securing its use, and the new connector was constructed on the west side of the valley. The Town of Bar Harbor granted him permission to construct an underpass to carry the connector beneath the Bar Harbor-Somesville road [Eagle Lake Bridge, HAER No. ME-55].<sup>99</sup>

The 1929 stock market crash had a devastating effect on Rockefeller's fortune, reducing his personal wealth from nearly \$1 billion to \$291 million by 1939. Nevertheless, the road-building work continued at an undiminished pace, as did Rockefeller's other contributions to Acadia and the national park system. He contributed funds for Colonial National Historic Park, \$160,000 for Shenandoah, \$1.6 million for land acquisition for Yosemite, and through the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund, \$5 million in matching funds to establish the Great Smoky Mountains National Park.<sup>100</sup>

As a response to the hard times, Rockefeller expanded his work force to provide needed employment to more local men. He told his local attorney, A. H. Lyman, the chair of the road committee, that while he could not engage hundreds of new men, he hoped his actions would help in the situation and indicate his desire to assist in the crisis. The work attracted too many job seekers though, and Rockefeller's agents were forced to run ads in the *Bangor Daily Commercial* warning that rumors of widespread employment were false.<sup>101</sup>

#### Completion of the System

In 1929, planning was in full swing for yet another route, the "Aunt Betty Pond Road" between Eagle Lake and the Brown Mountain gate. There would be two connections to the road on the west side of Eagle Lake, and at this point, a full circle all around Aunt Betty Pond was contemplated. Rockefeller was already endeavoring to purchase the last remaining lots along the right-of-way. He forwarded the blueprints for the road to NPS Director Horace Albright in July, stating the road would serve three

purposes. First, it would provide an alternative return route for people coming out from either the north or south sides of the island. Second, it would provide an alternative trip for those traveling only part of the way around the lake, offering an entirely different sort of scenery. Third, it would provide an important fire lane in an otherwise inaccessible part of the park. Nearly three miles of the road would be traverse park land, but the greater part of the route would cross Rockefeller's own property. A low dam was planned for the outlet of Gilmore Meadow, restoring the marsh to the pond that formerly existed. Rockefeller indicated he was prepared to provide all the funding of the road, subject to the standing ban against use by motorized vehicles. Simpson had run lines for the road by the end of the year, and the crews were ready to begin chopping out the route. In January, Paul Simpson wrote to ask if he should run a survey for the water level for the proposed lake at Gilmore Marsh, warning the level would have to be determined before the final routing of the road could be planned. However, following discussions with landscape gardener Beatrix Farrand, Rockefeller decided against impounding the marsh.<sup>102</sup>

A 1929 plan showed the route of the proposed Aunt Betty Pond Road. It would leave the Northeast Harbor-Somesville Road (now Route 198) near the junction with the Jordan-Sargent Mountain (Around the Mountain) carriage road, then pass generally north and east through low-lying land along Upper Hadlock Pond. From there, it would swing slightly to the west around the base of "Peaked Mountain" (Bald Peak) and Parkman Mountain, then veer northeast around the base of Sargent Mountain to Gilmore Marsh. Throughout this distance, it would run below and at a distance of from one-quarter to three quarters of a mile from the Around the Mountain loop. From Gilmore Marsh, the route would run north by Aunt Betty Pond then climb a ridge and drop to the west Eagle Lake Road near the Eagle Lake Bridge. A connecting spur would run from the marsh up the Chasm Brook valley to connect with the West Sargent Mountain Road a mile to the south. The line was staked out by Simpson before the end of 1930; construction began soon afterwards.<sup>103</sup>

The plans for the Aunt Betty Pond Road were circulated about by Superintendent Dorr, and Harold Peabody predictably raised another protest. Although he felt all the recent roads were unneeded and unwanted, he especially protested the construction of a road adjacent to Aunt Betty Pond. All the other ponds on the east side of the island, with the exception of little Fawn Pond, had "been destroyed with a road on at least one side." He pointed out that the Eliot report had called for a halt to road construction, but this had been ignored. Peabody told Cammerer he felt compelled to raise another protest, but acceded.

There is absolutely no use in trying to protest when the Federal Government and Mr. Rockefeller's money are against you. Since they have made up their minds that this road is needed we might as well sit by and see this island ruined by an increasing network of roads. We cannot do anything about it.<sup>104</sup>

Cammerer replied with Dorr's old argument, telling Peabody the road was necessary for fire control purposes, pointing out that the area had recently been swept by fire and measures were needed to guard the parkland against future occurrences. He stressed that only a small portion of the road lay on park land. Cammerer stated that he had gone over the plans personally with Eliot, and that Eliot would meet with his local associates to consider the planned road.<sup>105</sup> Whether Eliot took up the matter or not, the road was subsequently constructed.

In 1930, Rockefeller made it clear that he wished to resume work on the long-contested road through the Amphitheatre, the construction of which had been delayed for nearly a decade. Rockefeller had always felt the road was a vital part of the system and he felt that the opposition from Pepper and the other opponents had finally been overcome. Completion of the road would also close the final link in the grand loop road around the Sargent Mountain group. Horace Albright, who had succeeded the late Stephen Mather as director of the National Park Service the previous year, advised Rockefeller to combine his offer to build the road with the extension of the Ocean Drive motor road through the Otter Point area, another project Rockefeller planned to fund. Albright suggested that this would deter most opposition

to the controversial carriage road, as the motor road project was a popular one. The combination of the projects would also make it less likely for some future Secretary of the Interior to halt the carriage road work on account of local pressure, as the proposed motor road would be of immense value to the park. Albright also suggested that Rockefeller engage Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. to prepare a comprehensive report on the proposed road program, as Olmsted's objective observations would carry great weight with the Interior Department. In reply, Rockefeller agreed to place his road proposals on a combined map for consideration by Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur. As for the Olmsted report, Rockefeller reported that he had already engaged Olmsted to prepare such a study. The maps were submitted by the end of the month.<sup>106</sup>

Rockefeller had indeed already asked Olmsted to prepare a report on his carriage road work. Olmsted, son of the architect who laid out Central Park, had a long working relationship with the National Park Service; he wrote the mission statement for the 1917 Organic Act which created the NPS, served on the Yosemite Board of Expert Advisors and advised the Park Service on numerous other matters. Rockefeller knew that Olmsted's opinions were respected by Park Service officials, and in the late 1920s he had engaged him to work on the planning of the new series of park motor roads which he was constructing. In 1930, he asked Olmsted to review his horse road plans, ostensibly to get the acknowledged approval of the leader in the field of American landscape architecture. Olmsted's report was submitted in July.

Olmsted's conception for the roads, which he suggested was probably the same as Rockefeller's, was that the carriage roads should have the appearance of the old woods roads of the island

untraversed by motor vehicles, wheel tracks and hoof marks on a sylvan ribbon of grass and low ground cover, although kept free from excessive encroachment of underbrush and systematically made easier, safer, and pleasanter (sic) for driving on with horse-drawn vehicles and even for riding on horseback. . . .<sup>107</sup>

Some of Rockefeller's older roads had already "attained or

closely approximated this ideal," but others had fallen short, mostly due to what Olmsted identified as defects of construction or maintenance, which could be corrected, but also due to the obvious use of the roads by motorized vehicles. Olmsted noted that automobile use fell into two categories. Some vehicles were used for repair and maintenance and in carrying out forestry work, but the main problem was the unauthorized use of vehicles by those whose pleasure in using them was sufficient reason for them to violate the prohibition. The motorized traffic had clearly affected the appearance of the roads, mainly through rutting of roadway surfaces. Olmsted stated that for the sake of maintaining the "woods road" look, all motorized vehicles would have to be banned. He recommended providing horse drawn wagons and "barges" for repair and maintenance work. Some use of motorized vehicles in this work was inevitable, but the problems could be lessened by designating limited sections as service road segments leading to central supply depots, beyond which the horse-drawn conveyances would be used. To keep out the unauthorized traffic, all entrances to the carriage road system would have to be blocked. This could be achieved with gates, but such gates would have to be manned, a considerable labor cost. As an alternative, he suggested that low barriers could be installed, which would keep low-clearance motor vehicles out while allowing higher clearance carriages to pass. Only by addressing the two problems could carriage road users be freed of the "annoyance and even the dread" of encountering automobiles on the roads.<sup>108</sup>

Olmsted voiced a few criticisms of the way in which some of the roads had been planned and constructed. He thought the roads in general had been built with a curvature more suited to automobile roads, and the 16' width which Rockefeller was now requiring was excessive. The smooth curvature did not offer the "pleasantly accidental-seeming" look of true woods roads, which wandered abruptly through such wild areas. As for the width, he did not think that use demanded such wide roads. Rather than building them sufficiently wide for two carriages to pass, he suggested narrower roads, where the carriages would share the common central track, moving over to the shoulders where necessary to pass, or using well-spaced turnouts to pull aside.<sup>109</sup>

Horace Albright made his first visit to Acadia in June and was accompanied by Cammerer. They inspected all of the carriage roads on the island and met with Rockefeller at the Eyrie. Olmsted joined them there for a full discussion of the Rockefeller road plans. On his return, Albright wrote to tell Rockefeller of his appreciation for the road building work at Acadia.

I like the roads, both motor and carriage, that you have constructed and naturally I was deeply impressed with the roadside cleanup work and the bridges and culverts that have been built in connection with the roads. I had to see your marvelous accomplishments, in order to visualize correctly all that Mr. Cammerer and Mr. Dorr had told me about your program during the past few years.<sup>110</sup>

After a further discussion with Olmsted, Albright indicated that the National Park Service would cooperate "in every feasible way" with Rockefeller's plans for his road systems.<sup>111</sup> Albright himself kept in close contact with Rockefeller, often besieging the wealthy benefactor with long and rambling letters on a wide variety of subjects related to park and historic preservation projects. This association would continue until Rockefeller's death in 1960.<sup>112</sup>

Rockefeller now instructed Simpson to prepare a new set of maps of his proposed roads to be given to the Park Service. One map was to indicate a new horse road leaving from the northwest corner of Eagle Lake, crossing the Mountain Road segment of the Park Loop motor road, and crossing around Kebo Mountain to Great Meadow and Sieur de Monts Spring. This would provide a connection between the existing system and the Bar Harbor area, the island's center for social and tourism pursuits. The roads would terminate at Morrell Park (Robin Hood Park, a horse show ground, now the site of the Roscoe B. Jackson Laboratories). Another would depict the final route of the Amphitheatre Road. The other two maps were for sections of the Park Loop Road for which Rockefeller was assisting with the construction.<sup>113</sup> The plans, dated June 1930, were evidently given to Albright on the occasion of his visit to Acadia or soon afterwards. Rockefeller again offered to fund all the work, subject again to the usual

agreement that automobiles would be prohibited from using the carriage roads. He stated that Olmsted had spent many weeks studying the proposed roads and supported their construction.<sup>114</sup>

In August 1930, Rockefeller spoke to the Pot and Kettle Club, a group of leading summer residents who met weekly for luncheon. He announced his planned new carriage road to connect Eagle Lake with the horse show grounds at Morrell Park, indicating that Dorr, Cammerer, and Albright all were in accord with the development.<sup>115</sup>

At the end of 1930, Paul Simpson reported on the status of the work in progress. The Aunt Betty Pond Road had been laid out and staked, and preliminary surveys were complete for its connector through the Chasm Brook valley with the Jordan-Sargent Mountain Road. Surveys were also finished for the completion of the Amphitheatre road. As part of this project, Simpson selected a location for the large bridge [Amphitheatre Bridge, HAER No. ME-41] over Little Harbor Brook, choosing a site adjacent to a small waterfall. He had also completed the final location survey for a connecting road from Mitchell Hill on the Rockefeller estate to the new road.<sup>116</sup>

Simpson stated that he had also done reconnaissance surveys for a road connecting Barr Hill with Day Mountain and for a new motor road down the Stanley Brook valley. The crossing of these two roads would require an a bridge to carry the carriage road over the latter route. On Day Mountain proper, Simpson finished a reconnaissance survey for a road encircling the mountain's west side and a summit road leading up from the Icy Hill side of the loop.<sup>117</sup> This summit road would violate the old dictum that the island's mountaintops would be protected from road development, but Day Mountain was a relatively low summit on Rockefeller's own land and would be a popular attraction for drives out of Seal Harbor. Work on the roads was underway in 1931. In December, Simpson reported that Ralston's crews had been busy chopping out the route on the west side of the mountain. If desirable, the planned route would provide connections for a possible road down to the ocean at Hunters Beach and with the county road between Seal Harbor and Bar Harbor. The latter cut-off, he suggested, would save a great deal of time in reaching the summit from Seal

Harbor.<sup>118</sup> The two spurs were never constructed.

In January 1931, Rockefeller asked to be released from his pledge to construct the Kebo Valley roads, citing more opposition from "a few summer residents". He stated that his pleasure in seeing the roads constructed would be "largely negatived" by the criticism of his work. In May, Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur wrote back and asked Rockefeller to reconsider. Wilbur was more concerned that Rockefeller was also asking to withdraw his pledge for completion of the Park Loop Road, which meant that his department would have to pick up the cost.<sup>119</sup>

That fall, a committee of summer residents still opposed to the further construction of motor and carriage roads in the park led by conservation activist Dr. Arthur C. Train wrote Rockefeller urging him to cease his work. In particular, they opposed the construction of the remaining links of the Park Loop motor road, but also questioned the need for more carriage roads.

In this matter we are of the decided opinion that neither the present nor the apparent future use by the public, of horse-drawn vehicles, justifies the construction of additional horse roads. On the other hand we would heartily approve the extension in appropriate locations with as little defacement and blasting as possible, of a system of soft-surfaced, narrow bridle paths or trails with natural road bed. These would aid in increasing the use of saddle horses and would equally provide means of emergency access to forest areas in case of fire.<sup>120</sup>

The protests fell on deaf ears, and the carriage road work (along with the completion of the Park Loop Road) continued.

In February 1933, Rockefeller told Simpson the Stanley Brook Bridge would be the first project undertaken that year. He was to complete the surveys and staking for the Stanley Brook motor road, but the completion of the Day Mountain loop road would probably have to wait until the Stanley Brook motor road was finished.<sup>121</sup>

That month, Dr. Wilbur, the Secretary of the Interior, wrote

Rockefeller to give formal consent to his proposed road program. Wilbur was anxious to indicate his agreement before he left office the following month. (Following the inauguration of President Franklin Roosevelt, Wilbur would be succeeded by Harold L. Ickes.) Wilbur indicated the Rockefeller was being given permission to construct all the carriage roads which had been proposed, but he would be under no obligation to do so. Wilbur also stated that the Park Service would agree to ban motorized vehicles from using the roads for a period of 25 years, and would continue the ban indefinitely unless there arose a compelling reason for more general use. Rockefeller replied that he was "entirely satisfied" with the arrangement,<sup>122</sup> and the work proceeded.

At Horace Albright's urging, Secretary Ickes visited Acadia in May 1933. Accompanied by Albright, he toured the proposed motor road extensions and took a trip over a major part of the carriage road system, visiting the two new gate houses. He met with Olmsted in the park, and announced his satisfaction with the Rockefeller road program.<sup>123</sup>

Albright, who had been Rockefeller's friend since his visit to Yellowstone in 1924, resigned as director of the National Park Service in August, but he continued to support Rockefeller's work in the parks and helped him court the favor of the new Secretary. Under the New Deal program, significant federal funds were allocated to Acadia to continue the motor road construction begun by Rockefeller, and the two men closely followed the work.<sup>124</sup> After leaving the Park Service, Albright became vice-president and chief executive officer of the American Potash Company, taking up offices in Rockefeller Center, where he could stay in close touch with his old friend.

With the approach of the 1935 work season, Rockefeller decided that the remaining road construction work would be carried out by his own crews, rather than by contractors. In January, he wrote Chauncey Joy, who was planning to do some minor work to complete the Aunt Betty Pond Road, that his services were no longer required. In dismissing Joy, Rockefeller commended him for his two decades of work on the road system.

In thus finishing up the road work which you have been carrying on for me for a number of years past, I want to express my pleasure and enjoyment in the association with you which this brought about and my satisfaction with the many miles of road which you have built for me. As the years have gone by you have often been confronted with difficult problems of construction but all of these you have solved satisfactorily as a result of your wide experience in this kind of work and because of the thorough, conscientious way in which you invariably devote yourself to the task in hand. These roads will stand for many years as a memorial to your constructive ability and will give constant pleasure to countless people.<sup>125</sup>

Byron and Sam Candage, who had constructed eight of the carriage road bridges, also lost out on the remaining work. Construction would now be carried out by Rockefeller employees under the supervision of his estate superintendent, S. F. Ralston, and Ralston's successor, Robert W. Gumbel. Although one of the bridges, an underpass carrying the Barr Hill-Day Mountain connector under the Jordan Pond Road [Jordan Pond Road Bridge, HAER No. ME-44] was built under a bid arrangement with another contractor, Ralston's crews constructed the Stanley Brook Bridge, and Philadelphia mason Pringle Borthwick directed estate crews in the construction of the Bubble Pond Bridge [HAER No. ME-38], which bore the Bubble Pond carriage road over the "Mountain Road" segment of the Park Loop Road, and the Duck Brook Bridge [HAER No. ME-40] which provided access to the Witch Hole Pond loop from Bar Harbor's West Street extension.

In March 1935, Rockefeller submitted the last of his major road-building proposals to Secretary Ickes. He offered to deed to the government lands necessary for the construction of a new park entrance motor road connecting Hulls Cove, west of Bar Harbor, with the Park Loop Road; the right-of-way to the Stanley Brook Motor Road just being completed; the Jordan Pond House and the Jordan Pond Gate Lodge, along with the surrounding land; and the site at the north end of Eagle Lake where a tea house and horse center were planned (but never built). He stated that the donation would allow for the construction of a new "horse road Park entrance on Eden Street" (Maine Route 3) in the area of the

Paradise Hill Road, and "a horse road from Eagle Lake to the Sieur de Monts Spring area and the high hill to the north, returning to Eagle Lake by a different route."<sup>126</sup> The latter was the carriage road announced at the Pot and Kettle Club in 1930.

In his letter to Ickes, Rockefeller estimated the cost of his expenditures on his various road projects. His engineers calculated the cost of the work to date was \$1,854,125, not including forestry work and roadside cleanup, which would bring the total to at least \$2 million. He had given the park 2,700 acres of land which had cost him more than \$250,000, and on which he had spent an additional \$500,000 on improvements. He was now prepared to turn over another 3,835 acres for which he had paid more than \$600,000 and on which he already spent another \$500,000 on improvements. The rough cost of the roads he had constructed on park lands was \$2 million. In sum, he had spent almost \$4 million on "the project." His engineers estimated the cost of completing the Park Loop motor road and the new horse roads at about \$2 million, but these costs would have to borne by the government. Rockefeller was nearly through with his road building work at Acadia.

Rockefeller and Paul Simpson had been actively planning the new motor road entrance to the park [Paradise Hill Road, HAER No. ME-56], as well as the carriage road connections to Bar Harbor, the final links in the park-wide carriage path system. One link would connect the Witch Hole Pond and Paradise Hill loops with the Bay Drive, the extension of Eden Street west from Bar Harbor towards Halls Cove (now Route 3). The connector would divide to meet the meet the county road in two places. One spur would lead to the junction of the proposed new park motor road, and the other would drop from the west side of the Paradise Hill loop down to Halls Cove, terminating across from the outlet of the Breakneck Road. Paul Simpson prepared a maps showing the route of the roads in September 1934, but the two connectors were never built.<sup>127</sup>

In September 1936, Simpson prepared a plan for the last carriage road to be constructed, the Day Mountain Summit Road. This project would also include a road around the east side of the mountain, making a circuit tour possible. Simpson's plans showed

a wye on Icy Hill, where a connecting road might extend down to the Seal Harbor-Bar Harbor highway, and a second spur to Hunters Beach, but Rockefeller had already decided against the construction of the two spurs. The Day Mountain Road was completed in 1939 at a total cost of \$130,933.35.<sup>128</sup>

The "Kebo Valley" roads between Eagle Lake and Bar Harbor, announced by Rockefeller in 1930, were never constructed. In July 1938, he wrote Albright that "Under present financial conditions I doubt if I should want to spend the money involved in their construction."<sup>129</sup> His wealth had been reduced by nearly three-quarters on account of the Depression, and with the decline of his fortune, his interest in the road projects was clearly waning. Paul Simpson reported that he was staking out the lines for the road in January 1939, but the project was soon abandoned.<sup>130</sup> The Rockefeller carriage road system was complete.

#### LANDSCAPE CONCERNS

The Rockefeller carriage roads are distinguished from ordinary road construction, even the park motor roads, by their careful integration with the natural environment. They were carefully located to present the user with a number of successive "experiences" ranging from woodland rambles to mountain vistas and passages along the island's lakes and ponds. The seventeen major stone bridges served not only to carry the roads across streams, chasms and other roads, but encouraged the visitor to stop and linger while enjoying distant views or to inspect rushing streams and deep ravines. Roadside trees were protected in the construction, and hundreds of other trees, along with flowering shrubs and other native plants, were planted alongside to conceal construction scars and reinforce the woodland feel of the roads.

Rockefeller recognized that the carriage roads were artificial construction, but believed they could be made to harmonize with the rugged park landscape. He carefully saw to it that they were located to run with the lay of the land, and would hardly be visible from popular vantage points. Although clearing and construction were highly noticeable at first, the lush climate ensured that the dense Maine woods soon cloaked the roads from

view. The roads were designed to offer splendid views, but with the exception of the summit road up Day Mountain, avoided the mountain peaks, as protection of the summits was one chief reason the Hancock County Trustees of Public Reservations began assembling the land that is now Acadia National Park.

Landscape considerations figured in the early planning of the roads, long before the first tree was cut in right-of-ways or the first spadeful of dirt was turned. The very location of the roads occupied considerable time and effort. Rockefeller would indicate to his engineers, Charles and Paul Simpson, the general routes he wished considered, then they would spend weeks and months studying various alternative lines. Rockefeller himself often walked the lines himself and always retained final approval, never authorizing a contract until he was satisfied the roads would provide the exact desired scenic effect.

Sometimes the location of the roads seemed almost paradoxical. In contrast to usual construction, many of the carriage roads actually climb to reach stream crossings, as adjacent waterfalls or particularly outstanding views were chosen for the sites for some of the bridges. In other cases, roads would cross streams multiple times in order to allow the visitor to enjoy the experience of traveling through an especially attractive valley. For instance, the connector between the Jordan-Sargent Mountain and Aunt Betty Pond roads crosses the braided channel of Chasm Brook seven times on a series of small bridges, adding excitement to an otherwise deeply wooded route. Many of the views and vistas provided along the roads, numbering in the hundreds, often take the user by surprise; these were not coincidences of planning, but rather the result of careful and meticulous study.

The carriage roads are characterized by their narrow widths, generally 14'-16' and less in the case of the "horse paths" or bridle trails. The roads are of broken stone construction, being constructed in successive layers of large boulders (some as large as cars), smaller stones roughly 8"-10" in dimension, and a roadway course of rolled small stones and screenings. Originally, the roads had a reddish hue, as the surface course was ground from the red granite of the eastern part of the island. Today's roads are gray, reflecting the stone brought

from off the island for the recent resurfacing. Broken stone construction was cheaper than conventional pavement, but reflects a considerably greater expense than ordinary gravel tracks. However, it is much more durable, and the stone roads, bordered over long sections with boulder coping stones, fit in well with the island's rocky landscape.

Special attention was devoted to the roadway margins. Along the surveyed routes for the roads, trees were marked with tapes or flagging, indicating whether they were to be removed or retained. As early as 1915, Rockefeller's estate gardener, Charles Miller, was marking trees to be removed between the Green Valley Farm Road and Long Pond.<sup>131</sup> However, wherever possible, trees were to be retained. In the fall of 1917, as Rockefeller was planning the bridle path along Jordan Stream, he gave his contractor, A. E. Clement, specific instructions to protect the roadside landscape.

the first consideration in the construction of the road is to save every tree possible which does not actually stand in the road. Since the roots of many trees on either side of the roadway project into the road and the trees might be damaged were they to be cut, it becomes necessary on a considerable portion of the road to fill the roadway over the roots. . . You have agreed to see to it that your men are exceedingly careful not to destroy anything on either side of the road during the course of construction, and that the stream is not opened up any more than is necessary for the cutting of the road. The boulders in the stream as well as on either side of the road are to be preserved and left intact, and any material required is to be gotten, if near the road, at least out of sight from the road.<sup>132</sup>

Clement's instructions for roadsides treatments were first to grade off the banks, then to apply a layer of rakings and stones. Topsoil would then be cast onto the banks. They were then to be seeded with red top and clover with some oats mixed in.<sup>133</sup> Later, under the expert guidance of landscape gardener Beatrix Farrand, a carefully selected mix of native and introduced flowering shrubs, wild ferns and other plant materials were set out along the roads, concealing the raw cuts and affording the user the

experience of passing through a sort of woodland garden.

Vistas or viewpoints were cut open in many places to allow travelers to enjoy the island's stunning scenery. Rockefeller opened up vistas on his earliest roads. While building his roads across lands belonging to the Trustees of Public Reservations in 1917, he asked for authority to continue this practice.

With Mr. Dorr's consent<sup>134</sup> and under his general supervision, I am doing forestry work on both sides of the road, clearing up dead wood and cutting out undesirable trees, also making views where Mr. Dorr thinks that desirable. That kind of work I have done on my own property for several years.<sup>135</sup>

Rockefeller later stated that his roadside forestry work had two basic benefits.

The clearing up of dead wood and the forestry work which I have been in the habit of doing in connection with the building of these roads is obviously a great safeguard for the Park against forest fires, as well as a beautifier of the woods, and in every way, so far as I can see, the people and the Government are so substantially the gainers by this transaction that there must be some simple way of making possible that which is obviously in the public interest.<sup>136</sup>

The removal of dead wood was almost an obsession with Rockefeller. National Park Service landscape architect Charles Peterson stated that Rockefeller had a crew of German foresters, and would send them out after every storm "to pick up every twig." Dead trees along the roads were removed, a practice Rockefeller also funded at Yellowstone National Park. However, he was willing to leave dead branches on limbs along the Aunt Betty Pond Road as an experiment, though he insisted that dead trees be taken out.<sup>137</sup>

Considerable attention was often devoted to individual trees. In 1931, Mr. Rockefeller and Paul Simpson wrestled with the location for the Amphitheatre Bridge, the massive curving arch structure over Little Harbor Brook. The structure's location was chosen to present a view of a fine waterfall to the side, after the

original design had been worked out by Charles Stoughton, Rockefeller decided to build the road to a 20' width, and this required a larger bridge than had been planned. Simpson pointed out that the widening would require removal of a large pine on the south side just below the bridge. Simpson took the liberty of sending a revised plan, which would save the tree and the roots of a large hemlock as well. However, the revised design, which increased the radius of the curve, would require a longer span bridge at extra expense. Rockefeller replied, "It is important to save the trees if we can," and he sent Stoughton, to Mount Desert to study the situation. In the end, the longer radius curve was approached, which allowed the trees to be saved.<sup>138</sup>

Forestry improvements to enhance the roads was a hallmark of the system from its inception. In addition to the work on his own estate, George Dorr noted that Rockefeller was constantly going over the roads, having dead trees removed, replacing them or adding to the plantings, bringing in topsoil to allow planting in barren areas, and seeding road slopes. Dorr stated the work was to "completely and rapidly restore natural conditions,"<sup>139</sup> though much would more likely be considered landscaping.

In addition to the trees, thousands of shrubs and herbaceous plants were planted along the roads. Many of these were native to Mount Desert Island--blueberries, cranberries, and sweet fern were popular--a number of non-indigenous species were introduced and used. These included Japanese maple, Norway spruce, cinnamon rose and sweetbriar.

Many of the most dramatic carriage roads border some of the island's lakes. Eagle Lake, Long Pond and Witch Hole Pond are surrounded by loop roads, and two other major lakes, Jordan and Bubble ponds, are paralleled by carriage paths. Numerous smaller ponds, like Aunt Betty Pond, Half-Moon Pond, the Breakneck Ponds and Upper Hadlock Pond are goals of other roads or stunning roadside attractions. Rockefeller was especially careful in the location of his roads in lakeside areas, describing his practices to Cammerer in 1927.

one see mores of a lake by being a little higher up and not

too close to its edge. The view, moreover, is usually more attractive of one looks down into the lake from a little elevation than from practically the level of the lake. Then too, the road, further back and higher up, would undoubtedly be less apt to be seen from the lake.<sup>140</sup>

The principle was put into practice, and the carriage roads were generally laid out in the woods above and to the sides of the lakes. At times, the lakes are hidden, but then are suddenly displayed in marvelous planned vistas. Often the lakes are viewed from multiple points which showcase their various natures. In a few places, the roads descend directly to lake level, perhaps in part to allow for the watering of horses.

Rockefeller's work generally reflects a subtle manipulation of the landscape, but at times he considered more drastic changes. In 1929 and early 1930, as Paul Simpson was completing his surveys for the Aunt Betty Pond Road, Rockefeller and his engineer discussed stopping up the flowage out of Gilmore Meadow, a large marsh below Aunt Betty Pond, in order to convert the marsh into a pond.<sup>141</sup> Surveys were made for the determining the elevation of the lake, and the Gilmore Marsh culvert on the Hadlock Pond section was constructed to allow for wooden stop boards to be installed for control of the lake level. Apparently, the boards were never installed.

In 1928, Rockefeller planned for the construction of a small pond adjacent to Eagle Lake around an existing beaver dam. Rockefeller had his agent, A. H. Lynam, persuade the Trustees of Public Reservations to delay ceding this section of land west of the lake to the government while he carried out the construction, stating that federal ownership would "complicate things."<sup>142</sup>

The carriage roads in some cases paralleled or disturbed the locations of some of the island's paths and trails. Rockefeller respected the role the trails played and paid to have them relocated and improved where his roads crossed. Sign posts were erected on both sides of the carriage paths to guide crossing hikers or identify trails for hikers reaching them via the carriage roads.<sup>143</sup> Stone steps were sometimes constructed through stretches of retaining wall; a good example can be seen where the

rarely used Wildwood Farm Trail crosses the Day Mountain loop. Instead of disrupting the island trail system, the carriage roads enhanced it by providing easy access to remote trailheads.

Mile after mile of coping stones bordering the roads form a most vivid impression. Known elsewhere as border stones, the people of Mount Desert Island affectionately call those on the island "Rockefeller's teeth," as the stones are the most visible characteristic of the carriage roads and motor roads built by Mr. Rockefeller. These stones appear in several variants, generally corresponding to the stone available along the road. Some are natural stones set into place; others have been split from larger slabs. Many are relatively small and rounded; others are great jagged monoliths nearly five feet tall. The stones provide security in places where the roads pass along steep mountain slopes, and keep carriages from running out into meadows and other level places along the roads. Stone was used because it was easily available and appropriate to the rocky island landscape. Besides being more attractive, the stones were permanent than wooden railings, which would have to have been continuously replaced in Acadia's moisture-laden climate.

Rockefeller's concern for landscape qualities was evidenced even as a child, when he planted trees along the carriage drives at his family's Forest Hill estate. He helped his father alter watercourses and create ponds for scenic effect. At Pocantico Hills, the landscape was carefully manipulated by opening up vistas, relocating enormous trees, and judicious planting around the estate and its road system.

On Mount Desert Island, Rockefeller again was mindful of landscape concerns related to the construction of his roads. He studied potential vistas carefully before granting his approval to remove any trees. He directed his contractors to spare as many trees as possible in their road-building work, and frequently walked to staked lines to review which trees had been flagged with tapes, often making adjustments. When bare spots were created, he had these planted out in native trees. After a while, he engaged Otter Creek nurseryman Charles Miller, an island native, as his garden foreman, and established nurseries on his estate to provide stock for the planting work.

Rockefeller's own skills and knowledge of landscape design were impressive as was his intimate knowledge of Mount Desert Island. National Park Service landscape architect Thomas Vint once remarked that he "seemed to know every contour, every tree and rock outcrop, and had a high regard for each item of natural bit of landscape peculiarity."<sup>144</sup>

Although he had developed considerable skills at landscape architecture, a practice dating back to his childhood work at Forest Hill, Rockefeller sought expert help with the design and landscaping of his carriage roads. In the early 1920s, he cultivated a close working relationship with Beatrix Farrand, who was to advise him for the next decade on the landscaping of his road system.

Beatrix Jones Farrand was one of the most respected women in American landscape architecture in the early twentieth century. She studied under Charles Sprague Sargent, director of the Arnold Arboretum, eight years before Harvard established its landscape architecture program, which was then opened to men only. Sargent taught her surveying and landscape design, urging her toward a career in designing for large estates, reminding her to "carefully study the tastes of the owner." After studying with Sargent for four years, she traveled to Europe for six months, during which time she called on the well-known English gardener, Gertrude Jekyll, who popularized an informal "cottage gardens" revival.<sup>145</sup>

In 1895, Farrand set up practice in New York, working out of the top floor of her mother's home. Through family connections at first, and then by referral, she obtained numerous commissions to design gardens for great estates at Newport, at Tuxedo, Long Island, and at Bar Harbor, then in its prime as a summer resort for the wealthy. In 1913, she married Max Farrand, chairman of Yale's history department. When Professor Farrand left Yale, she kept offices in New York and Bar Harbor. By this time, she had a number of major clients, including Dumbarton Oaks, Princeton and Yale, and the Rockefeller Institute.<sup>146</sup>

Although she had been one of the founding members of the American Society of Landscape Architects, she refused to call herself a

"landscape architect," preferring "landscape gardener." In the mid-1920s, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller sought her out to design a large garden for the Eyrie. This was to be no mere ornamental garden, but a serious retreat on an Oriental theme. The Farrand garden at the Eyrie, surrounded by a great wall topped with tiles from a demolished part of Beijing's Forbidden City, has been described by island landscape architect Patrick Chasse as "English garden tradition within an Oriental framework, built in a stunning natural setting."<sup>147</sup> Mrs. Farrand worked with the Rockefeller's on the garden's development for years, and during this time Rockefeller asked her for advice concerning the landscape work along his carriage roads.

While Mrs. Farrand occasionally accompanied Rockefeller on drives around the carriage roads, during which they discussed the potential work, she generally was driven around the roads on her own, accompanied by a secretary who took down her thoughts and recommendations and later transcribed them. These "road notes" were sent to Rockefeller for consideration. He studied them carefully and sent back his own replies, frequently authorizing her proposed work. On some of her trips, she was accompanied by Charles Miller, who, after all, would have to carry out most of the work.

Despite repeated entreaties from Rockefeller, Mrs. Farrand refused to be compensated for most of her work on the Acadia carriage roads as they were open to all park visitors. Rockefeller urged her to submit bills whenever she pleased, and thanked her profusely for her donated time. He once wrote her, expressing "how truly appreciative I am of all that you are doing for the park in improving and developing the various projects I have roughed out and to which the finishing touches which you are adding mean so much." Mrs. Farrand generously replied, "I enjoy it [the roadside work] as any work I do anywhere and have all the pleasure of a dog carrying a newspaper, as it makes me feel of some little use."<sup>148</sup>

Rockefeller and Farrand's work amounted as much to manipulation as to landscape preservation. While most of the plantings were of native stock, they were often planted in formerly open glades. More dead trees and limbs were removed from the roadsides, soil

was carted in and spread in places where the rocky ground would not otherwise support plantings, and vistas were opened in many more places on Mrs. Farrand's recommendation. Rockefeller considered the work an improvement of the landscape, but in essence the wild scenery of Mount Desert Island was tamed and treated as another planned element of the road system.

As noted, Rockefeller also engaged noted landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. for further advice and consultation. In July 1930, Olmsted submitted his report on the Rockefeller carriage road project. It embodied the suggestion that the carriage roads should present the appearance of old woods roads, something which had been nearly attained except for the intrusion of automobiles and their wheel tracks. Olmsted also studied the routes for the proposed carriage roads connecting Eagle Lake with the Great Meadow/Sieur de Monts Spring area and Morrell Park. However, most of his work for Rockefeller on Mount Desert Island related to the construction of the Seal Harbor motor road and parts of the Ocean Drive section of the Park Loop road.

#### THE ROADS

The Rockefeller carriage roads were not mere tracks through the Maine woods, but rather specialized and sophisticated roads designed especially for carriage driving. The controlling grades and curvature were determined by the needs of horse and carriage traffic, rather than those of the automobile. The roads varied greatly in length and altitude. Some were lowland routes along the island's lakes and streams; others climbed high into the island's mountains, though only the Day Mountain Road actually reaches a summit. Each of the roads would present a different experience or challenge for the horseman. Connections between the roads allowed for a choice of routes, allowing parties to return by a different route and thereby enjoy new views and varied scenery.

To a casual observer, the carriage roads appear to common gravel roads. Actually, they are broken stone roads, far more difficult and expensive to construct. Gravel roads are built simply by covering a dirt road with gravel or small stones; in some cases, the roadway is excavated to a short depth, and then the excavated

area is filled with gravel. By contrast, broken stone roads are excavated to considerable depth, then built up with successive layers of stones, beginning with large stones or boulders, progressing to medium-sized stones, then top layers of gravel and fines, very small screened stones which are then watered in and rolled for compaction. In some cases a layer of clay was applied to the top. Although some studies indicate the largest stones were generally about the size of a person's head, National Park Service engineer Mike Williams, who supervised the recent rehabilitation of the carriage roads, states that they found boulders "the size of cars" used in some places.<sup>149</sup>

Most of the roads were constructed to a 16' width, though the "bridle paths," such as the road along Jordan Stream and the Hadlock Brook Road (as originally constructed) were built to narrower (10'-12') width. Bridges and other structures were as wide as the roads, and in some cases, a bit wider to allow for future expansion. The 16' width was considered wide enough for two carriages to pass. Turnouts for passing were provided on the narrower roads.

The roads were not flat, but crowned to about 8" at the center to facilitate proper drainage. (At curves, the crowns tapered off to allow for banking or superelevation.) Over the years, as the crown wore down, water would not flow easily off the roads, and would collect in rivulets and erode the surface. The central crown was restored during the restoration, enabling rainwater to again be successfully diverted to drainage ditches and culverts.

Ditches were provided along the sides of the roads in all places except on sidehill slopes below a road where water would naturally drain down a slope. The ditches would carry water to streams flowing away from the road, or to culverts passing underneath the road, allowing water to be diverted away from the erodable surface. Many ditches were stone-lined for permanence. The carrying capacity of the ditches was carefully calculated to ensure all water could be carried away from the road. However, as the ditches filled with debris or vegetation, the carrying capacity was reduced, contributing to the eroded condition of the roadways. During the recent rehabilitation, the ditches were mucked or cleared, restoring the capability of the drainage

system.

Stone-paved gutters or waterways were frequently employed where rivulets cascaded down toward the roadway. The stone floor of the waterways prevented torrents from creating gullies and eroding soil and debris downslope to the ditches. These waterways sometimes discharged into drop basins at the head of culverts. Such structures reduce the force of the falling water and prevent damage to culverts and drainage ditches.

Culverts range in size from less than 2' in diameter to more than 20' in span. Some of the larger culverts contain multiple spans and cross streams that otherwise would have required a substantial bridge. Many of the smaller ones are simple pipe culverts buried in the roadbed, especially where there was insufficient depth to construct stone gutters. Historically, many of these were concrete pipe culverts, while others were metal pipe. Some small and a number of larger culverts are of stone construction. Head walls or intakes were carefully integrated into the ditches or paved waterways, making most of the culverts relatively inconspicuous. At the intake to most culverts, drop boxes or catch basins were employed to trap leaves and debris which might otherwise clog the culvert. The largest culverts are box culverts, sometimes of multiple span. Those at Gilmore Marsh on the Aunt Betty Pond connector road and at the "Beaver Meadow Pool" on the Eagle Lake Loop were designed to be fitted with stop boards or gates to control the pool level.

Long stretches of retaining walls and breast walls border the road in sidehill sections. Retaining walls, built below grade level, support the roads where they are benched out, and breast walls, built above the road grade, contain hillsides on upslope sections. The retaining and breast walls are generally of large stone boulders or blocks and are dry-laid, that is, set without mortar. In a number of cases, such as bordering "the Tumbledown" on the Jordan Pond-Eagle Lake Road, and adjacent to the West Branch Jordan Stream Bridge, the walls are so carefully constructed that no seam or obvious division mark is apparent between the walls and natural rock croppings; they appear to be a natural part of the landscape.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the carriage road system is the extensive series of border stones, sometimes erroneously called coping stones, which border the roads along fill sections and curves. These stones varied in size and shape but were generally large, rounded or jagged boulders set into depressions dug or drilled at the roadside. Most of the border stones are large boulders exceeding one ton in weight, and were placed by derricks or cranes.<sup>150</sup>

The border stones, affectionately known on Mount Desert Island as "Rockefeller's Teeth," were generally located only at first on curves and in exposed sections. George Dorr had suggested that they be openly spaced except on bold turns or other potentially dangerous spots, where a continuous wall of them would be appropriate.<sup>151</sup> Over time, however, the stones were increasingly placed on long straight segments or on level grades. Some roads, such as the Day Mountain Road, are lined with stones for nearly their entire lengths. Only on the narrower "bridle path" type roads, such as the Hadlock Brook Road, are the stones infrequently spaced.

The careful design of road-related amenities reflects Mr. Rockefeller's attention to minutia. He personally oversaw the most acute details of the construction. Road building was not just another business matter to be overseen, but a second vocation for the reclusive philanthropist. Thomas Vint, the chief landscape architect of the National Park Service, once remarked on Rockefeller's personal involvement in the road building efforts.

He had been building roads for some years with his own road crews, giving seasonal employment to local people, expanding his program during years of unemployment and decreasing it during years of high employment. He used methods that required more hand labor and less machinery, which permitted a tailor-made job foot by foot adjustments being made as he went along. . . Mr. Rockefeller did not arrive at his excellent knowledge of road building by sitting at his desk and merely issuing instructions as to what he wanted. On the contrary he learned the hard way. How did he find the time? I don't know. I suppose the answer is that he just

took the time.<sup>152</sup>

#### THE CARRIAGE ROAD BRIDGES

The most impressive structures on the carriage road system are the eighteen stone-faced bridges. While simple wooden spans would have sufficed in almost all cases, the bridges reflect Mr. Rockefeller's desire for the highest quality construction. He allegedly once remarked that the bridges might as well have been constructed of diamonds, for what they had cost him.<sup>153</sup>

The bridges were not intended as a mere means to cross streams, roads and ravines, but were an integral part of the planned landscape. The spans are all picturesque structures. Constructed of native stone from island quarries, they are in harmony with the rugged rock outcroppings which make up the backbone of the island. In several cases, the very walls of the bridges appear to be natural extensions of exposed rock faces. The bridges harmonize, rather than contrast with, the landscape.

Charles P. Simpson, son and grandson of Mr. Rockefeller's engineers, observed that the design of the bridges was largely determined by their location:

In the low-lying wooded areas, simple single span arches cross small streams; near motor roads, bridges appear more formal in design; and in the mountainous regions each bridge is a statement at its site, reinforcing the natural environment's drama and affording vistas of both the natural wonders and the bridges themselves.<sup>154</sup>

The bridges all appear to be of native granite construction. However, with the possible exception of the Bubble Pond Bridge, which may be of solid stone construction, the bridges are all reinforced concrete structures merely faced in granite. The use of concrete lessened the expense of construction and allowed the bridges to more easily incorporate curves. Sometimes the concrete is exposed at the base of the arch barrels; however, where carriage roads pass beneath bridges (as with the Jordan Pond Road and Eagle Lake Road bridges) or where visitors might

wander below on foot trails or to take in views (for instance, Hemlock, Waterfall and Duck Brook bridges), the intradiei or undersides of the arches were also faced in stone.

Mr. Rockefeller, working with his engineers, first determined where a bridge would be sited. The engineer, either Charles P. Simpson or his son, Paul Simpson, then prepared a topographic survey of the site and forwarded it to the architect.

Rockefeller and the architect then worked out the style and details for the bridge, and the architect generally handled the structural engineering work. The plans were then sent to the

engineer, who laid out the bridge on the site and supervised its construction. The architect and Mr. Rockefeller would inspect the work as it progressed.<sup>155</sup>

The first ten bridges on the system were designed by New York architect William Welles Bosworth. A graduate of the École des Beaux Arts in Paris, Bosworth had designed the Rockefeller's nine-story New York townhouse at 10 West 54th Street, and the landscape design for the Kykuit estate at Pocantico Hills.<sup>156</sup>

The first of the carriage road bridges crossed Jordan Stream below the Jordan Pond House. Although Mr. Rockefeller had first intended to use quarried granite, his engineer, Charles Simpson, urged the use of cobbles, or rounded stones from the streambed. The bridge was subsequently constructed of reinforced concrete with the cobbles set into the surface. The single round arch of 32' clear span was outlined by cut arch ring stones or voussoirs. The massive abutments flanking the arch were provided with semi-circular viewing platforms or "turrets", a feature used on many of the later bridges. But the unusual stone surface is the distinguishing feature of the bridge.

Cobblestone Bridge [HAER No. ME-31] is quite an anomaly, and departs from the dictum of "truth in architecture" that the appearance of a structure should reflect its construction. Obviously, no bridge could stand were it constructed of cobbles piled up, so their use is purely surface decoration. However, cobblestone bridges had recently been employed elsewhere. A fine example from the same decade can still be seen at the Frederick Vanderbilt estate at Hyde Park, New York, now part of Roosevelt-Vanderbilt National Historic Site.

Many observers found the bridge interesting, but it had its critics as well, including park custodian George Dorr. Seven years after it was completed, he stated "all have agreed in regretting it from an artistic standpoint." The best he could say was that vegetation was closing in around the structure and soon it would be "little noticeable."<sup>157</sup> Today, however, the structure is one of the most popular, and is visited by many visitors who wander down from the nearby Jordan Pond House.

None of the other bridges were constructed with cobblestone facing. According to one popular account, Rockefeller's masons stated they could not do a good job with cut granite.<sup>158</sup> Apparently, the real reason was that cobbles could not be obtained in sufficient quantities for the construction of the numerous bridges which would be required for the carriage road system.

In 1919, as the Asticou-Jordan Pond Road was being constructed, Rockefeller saw a small stone bridge in Central Park crossing of an arm of Swan Lake and believed it would be an admirable model for the crossing of Little Harbor Brook. Although he had already approved another set of plans for this structure, he asked Bosworth to prepare drawings for a new bridge based on the Central Park structure and forwarded them to his contractor, A. E. Clement, for an estimate. He told Clement it would not be necessary for the bridge to be faced in cobbles like the Jordan Stream span, but could be built of split stone instead.<sup>159</sup>

As Charles Simpson, the engineer for the carriage road work, would oversee the construction of the bridge, Rockefeller asked him to come to New York City to study the bridge at Central Park along with Bosworth. He also wished Simpson to visit his father's estate at Pocantico Hills where they were developing another carriage road system.<sup>160</sup>

Although he continued to employ Clement for the construction of the road, Rockefeller changed his mind and engaged B. W. Candage & Son of Seal Harbor to build the bridge. The Candages were also neighbors of Rockefeller and had done extensive work on the island. Over the next decade, they would build most of the bridges on the carriage road system. Although Rockefeller was almost always pleased with the results, the Candages were prone to underestimate the cost of their projects, and herein lay the basis of their ultimate misfortune.

The Little Harbor Brook Bridge [HAER No. ME-32], only 40' long overall, was faced in quarried granite blocks laid in random fashion, giving the structure a "rustic" appearance despite the use of cut stone masonry. The roadway crosses the structure on

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an arched camber, and the guard walls or parapets follow the

contour. They terminate in square end posts or curtails with pyramidal tops, emphasizing the solidity of the structure.

The bridge was completed in November 1919 at a cost of \$2,843. Sam Candage, by this point the principal of the firm, forwarded photographs of the newly completed bridge to Rockefeller who wrote back to express his pleasure. He told Candage, "I am perfectly delighted with the finished result," and indicated he wished him to construct a similar bridge at the outlet of Jordan Pond.<sup>161</sup>

On awarding Candage the contract for the Jordan Pond Dam Bridge [HAER No. ME-33], Rockefeller stated that it was to be as nearly as possible a copy of the Little Harbor Brook Bridge, but he desired a more rustic look for the stonework. He felt "most strongly the importance of not having the stonework on the bridge. . . too well and sharply cut." Some stones should be of irregular size to reflect natural stone outcroppings. If the bridge were built of finely tooled stonework, Rockefeller insisted he would consider it "a failure." Weathered stone should be exposed, and "a lack of even-ness" should be introduced.<sup>162</sup> Rockefeller seemed to feel that formal design in bridge construction was inappropriate for the wild island setting. However, he would be later challenged on this very point by the National Park Service, which ultimately rejected two of his bridge designs as excessively formal.

As the Jordan Pond Dam Bridge would be a virtual copy of the Little Harbor Brook Bridge, Rockefeller felt the Candages could build the Jordan Pond Dam Bridge for less money, and suggested the cost should not exceed \$2,500. The Candages, however, estimated the cost at \$2,716. Ominously, the final cost came out to \$2,735.<sup>163</sup> Although this figure exceeded the Candage's estimate by only \$19.11, it would be the closest to estimate the Candages ever came in building bridges for Mr. Rockefeller. Cost overruns on future projects would ultimately convince Rockefeller to engage other contractors or use his own crews for the final bridges built on the system.

Three large bridges were constructed by the Candages in 1925. Deer Brook, on the road running along the west side of Jordan

Pond, was crossed by a 140' bridge [HAER No. ME-36] spanning the stream on two tall but narrow 8' spans topped with semicircular arches, giving the structure the appearance of some ancient Roman bridge. The granite-faced reinforced concrete structure was originally designed to feature a bronze deer's head on the central rondel between the two arches. Daniel Hull, Chief Landscape Engineer for the National Park Service, was troubled with the proposed bronze deer head and suggested the bridge's simplicity would be enhanced if the deer head was instead carved in the medallion. In forwarding approval for the structure, NPS Director Stephen Mather told Superintendent Dorr that he agreed with Hull's suggestion, but if Rockefeller objected to the change, the original design could be carried out.<sup>164</sup> In the end, the deer head was replaced with a simple date stone on the lower elevation.

In forwarding the final blueprints for the bridge to Candage, Rockefeller again stressed that he desired a less finished appearance for his bridges.

Please instruct the stonecutters to make the stonework even rougher than the last bridge. The more rustic the bridge is in appearance the better. Your men usually err on the other side and will need constant coaching from you in order not to do too nice and refined a job.<sup>165</sup>

After inspecting the stonework at Edsel Ford's new cottage at Seal Harbor with Candage, and later seeing a small model of the proposed bridge, Rockefeller agreed to the use of quarried stones for the arch rings, a band course and the coping, and to the use of iron-stained stone for the exposed surface of the bridge. The stone was laid in courses, but joints were shaped with hammers instead of chisels in order to make for irregular joints and a more rustic appearance. The Candages completed the bridge at the end of the year at a cost of \$26,642.<sup>166</sup>

The other two structures constructed that year were on the West Sargent Mountain (Around the Mountain) Road. Waterfall Bridge [HAER No. ME-35], was a 185' bridge crossing the Maple Spring Brook ravine on a 30' rounded arch defined by cut stone voussoirs. The structure was designed to offer a splendid view of

small cascade on Maple Spring Brook, hence its name. Two semi-circular viewing platforms entice visitors to take in the scene. The bridge was completed in the summer of 1925 at a cost of \$44,103.<sup>167</sup>

Several hundred feet to the north, a 185' bridge was constructed across Hadlock Brook. Hemlock Bridge [HAER No. ME-34], so-called for its location in a dense and gloomy stand of Eastern hemlock trees, spans the stream on a pointed Gothic arch of 30' clear span. The Gothic arch was characteristic of "picturesque" design as promoted by landscape architect Andrew Jackson Downing, and reflects the pointed profile of the trees. The bridge is one of two in the park to incorporate such an arch (the other is the Eagle Lake Road Bridge). Although the Candages had estimated the cost of construction at \$42,130, the final cost of the structure was \$59,067, reflecting a staggering \$16,937 overrun, nearly a third of the cost of the original estimate.<sup>168</sup>

In 1926, the third of the three bridges copied from the Central Park prototype was constructed on Hadlock Brook bridle trail a quarter mile below the Waterfall Bridge. Like the other two, Hadlock Brook Bridge [HAER No. ME-37] is a 40' span of reinforced concrete faced in quarried granite, and the roadway crosses the stream on a gentle camber. However, unlike the Little Harbor Brook and Jordan Pond Dam bridges, the parapets terminate in rounded curtains.

Sam Candage completed the bridge in August 1930 at a cost of \$8,172. Rockefeller complained that Sam Candage had once again overrun his estimate for the construction of the structure, this time by \$1,278, and pointed out that the Little Harbor Brook Bridge, of which the Hadlock Pond Bridge was an exact copy, had cost only \$2,843, and the identical Jordan Pond Dam Bridge \$2,735. Rockefeller asked Candage to provide a more detailed accounting of his costs for future projects. As for the quality of the construction, Rockefeller reported that Bosworth had inspected all of them and had been pleased with the results.<sup>169</sup>

The somewhat similar Chasm Brook Bridge [HAER No. ME-38], also completed in 1927, carries the West Sargent Mountain Road over a deep ravine cut into the north flank of Sargent Mountain. Like

Waterfall Bridge, the site overlooks a small cascade dropping into a deep ravine, the "Chasm." Candage had estimated the cost of construction at \$15,202.64, but the final cost was \$16,220, reflecting yet another overrun of more than \$1,000.<sup>170</sup>

As Rockefeller extended his carriage roads north of Eagle Lake into the Witch Hole Pond area, the Eagle Lake Road connecting Bar Harbor and Somesville had to be crossed. As this was one of the chief motor roads on the island, Rockefeller wanted to avoid a hazardous grade crossing and secured permission from the Town of Bar Harbor to construct an underpass beneath the town road. Welles Bosworth designed a 118' structure faced in random ashlar granite with a 30' span Gothic arch like that on Hemlock Bridge. The stone parapet walls would feature cut-outs or reveals to relieve their heavy appearance, and two viewing platforms on each side of the structure would offer views of Eagle Lake and the Breakneck Brook valley. Sam Candage, again invited to execute a contract, estimated the structure would cost \$48,000.<sup>171</sup>

Although Paul Simpson reported that Bar Harbor town officials urged the bridge to be constructed to a 27' width, rather than 21' as shown on Bosworth's plans. This would allow for a future widening of the motor road, which town officials believed would become the chief artery to the west side of the island. Widening the bridge would not affect the design, Simpson noted, but it would add about \$4,000 to the cost of the bridge. Rockefeller, however, was "not enthusiastic" about the suggestion, arguing that "if the Bar Harbor people were paying for this bridge themselves, I do not believe for a moment they would suggest widening it at the additional cost." The bridge was built as planned to the narrower width.<sup>172</sup>

The work was carried out in 1927. Rockefeller's superintendent, S. F. Ralston, warned that Candage, as usual, was running over his cost estimates, and attributed the problems to poor management on Candage's part, stating that the contractor only got about 60¢ worth of labor for every dollar he expended on the work. In the end, the bridge cost came to \$70,327.30, more than \$22,000 over the original estimate.<sup>173</sup> B. W. Candage & Son would build no more bridges for Mr. Rockefeller.

[The concerns expressed by the Town of Bar Harbor proved entirely sensible; by the early 1970s, increased traffic loads and larger trucks proved the narrow width of the bridge was unsuitable, and the state highway department ordered the widening of the bridge in 1974. Because the stone-arched structure was determined historic, the state and the National Park Service agreed to maintain the historic appearance of the structure. It was widened by cutting one wall away from the rest of the bridge, moving it sideways on tracks, then filling in the gap with matching granite blocks and fill. The unique project subsequently won two design awards.<sup>174</sup>]

In 1928, Mr. Rockefeller engaged Welles Bosworth again, directing him to design a bridge to carry the Bubble Pond-Triad carriage road over the newly completed "Mountain Road" motor road (now a segment of the Park Loop Road). Bosworth submitted a design for a single span arched bridge faced in ashlar cut granite with finely cut voussoirs and a stone balustrade railing. As the bridge would be located on park land, Rockefeller submitted the design to the National Park Service for approval, probably believing that since he would be paying for the bridge, his design would be approved. However, NPS Assistant Director Arno Cammerer rejected the plan as too formal for the wild setting. Not wanting to disconcert the Park Service's greatest benefactor, Cammerer sought an opinion from the National Commission of Fine Arts, which agreed that the bridge design was unsuitable. Although stunned by the setback, Rockefeller had Bosworth prepare a new design, which eliminated the balustrade and offered a somewhat more rustic appearance, but retained the carefully crafted voussoirs and some of the coursed stone facing. The National Park Service Landscape Engineering Division was forwarded the design and the division chief, Daniel Hull, again urged Cammerer to reject the plan as "too citified" for Acadia. Backed again by the Commission of Fine Arts, Cammerer told Rockefeller the design would not be accepted, and he forwarded him an alternate design prepared by the Landscape Engineering Division. Although disappointed in the rejection of his designs, in a show of good will Rockefeller agreed to pay for the construction of the NPS-designed bridge, and had Simpson work out the details with Pringle Borthwick, a Philadelphia mason the Park Service suggested to handle its construction.

Borthwick arrived in the park in October 1927 to inspect the project. He went over the site with Simpson, Ralston and Walters G. Hill, an engineer Rockefeller and the park were using on his motor road projects. He visited the quarry site near the bridge and found behind the quarry a good supply of weathered stone which he hoped to use in the work. On discovering that Simpson had planned for a reinforced concrete bridge with masonry walls, he asked if instead the bridge could be constructed as a solid masonry structure, using concrete only to level up the haunches with the roadbed. He was confident a stone bridge would bear the heaviest construction equipment that might be used on the road, and that the bridge could be built as economically as the stone faced concrete design. He defended his choice, saying "I have always stood for things that were real; I don't like to hear the word veneer applied to this sort of work."<sup>175</sup>

Borthwick suggested that the bridge be constructed of solid masonry construction. Although Rockefeller's other carriage road bridges had been constructed of reinforced concrete faced in stone, he apparently agreed to Borthwick's request, as long as the stone construction would not exceed the cost of the concrete-faced work. Borthwick's Bubble Pond Bridge [HAER No. ME-39] was probably constructed of stone, though only core samples would confirm this. For the actual construction work, Rockefeller used his own crews instead of turning over the contract to the Candages, probably because of their poor track record in meeting their cost estimates.

The designs for the Bubble Pond Bridge were the last work done by Welles Bosworth for Mr. Rockefeller at Acadia. For his next series of bridges, Rockefeller engaged another New York architect, Charles W. Stoughton, to do the designs. Stoughton had designed bridges for the Bronx River Parkway and for New York's Central Park, and was hired to design several structures for the Rockefeller estate carriage road systems at Pocantico Hills. He would subsequently design eight bridges for Rockefeller's roads on Mount Desert Island.

The first of the Stoughton-designed bridges was a large span crossing Duck Brook, providing a connection between the Witch Hole Pond carriage road loop and the New Eagle Lake Road and Bar

Harbor. Stoughton's design was a large but graceful three-span arched bridge featuring a gently cambered deck. Semicircular viewing platforms offer fine vantages of Frenchman Bay and the Duck Brook valley, and a stone staircase supported by a half-arch allows visitors to wander down to the stream and view the bridge from below. The reinforced concrete structure is faced in coursed ashlar stone and the parapet wall is relieved by rectangular openings and topped by dressed stone coping. Like the original plan for Bubble Pond Bridge, the Duck Brook Bridge [HAER No. ME-40] was a relatively formal structure, but as Rockefeller built it on his own land before transferring it to the National Park Service, he did not have to obtain approval for the design. Pleased with the Borthwick's work at Bubble Pond, Rockefeller engaged him to build this structure as well.<sup>176</sup>

Duck Brook Bridge was completed in July 1939 at a cost of \$83,746. Not surprisingly on account of its scale, it was the most expensive structure built on the carriage road system. As architect, Charles Stoughton was paid a 6 percent commission totaling \$4,909, plus his expenses. Borthwick, who was also paid on a percentage basis, received \$4,349 for his work. The actual construction was again carried out by Rockefeller's own crews under Ralston's supervision.<sup>177</sup>

When construction resumed on the Amphitheatre road in 1929, a bridge was required for the crossing of Little Harbor Brook in the Amphitheatre itself. Stoughton designed a massive bridge which crosses the creek on a sweeping curve 236' long. The design was approved by Cammerer in January 1930.<sup>178</sup> Amphitheatre Bridge features the largest arch of any of the bridges, one with a clear span of 50'. The stone-faced structure has a series of large projecting stone blocks adding relief to the massive walls, and the parapet walls are topped with heavy dressed coping stones, further emphasizing the solidity of the bold structure. The bridge's roadway is oriented to present a fine view of one of the brook's small waterfalls; the location was adjusted to save the two large trees Simpson and Rockefeller were concerned about. Amphitheatre Bridge [HAER No. ME-41] was constructed in 1931 by Rockefeller crews under Ralston's direction.<sup>179</sup>

The second of the bridges on the Amphitheatre Road was copied from the Gap Stowe Bridge in "The Ramble" in New York's Central Park. The West Branch Jordan Stream Bridge [HAER No. ME-42] is a curved structure spanning the intermittent stream on a single tall semicircular or Roman arch. Like the Amphitheatre Bridge, the structure was built by Rockefeller crews. Total cost of the structure was \$16,889.29.<sup>180</sup>

Cliffside Bridge [HAER No. ME-43], completed in by Rockefeller crews in late summer 1932, crosses a wide ravine on the Amphitheatre Road. Its necessity is debatable, as a fill or a culvert might have carried the road across, but the 232' structure, which spans the chasm on a very shallow 50' segmental arch, offers splendid views of the Jordan Stream valley and incorporates viewing bays to encourage visitors to stop and enjoy the panorama of the wooded dale. The heavy abutments and crenelated parapet walls give the bridge an appearance which, according to the draft National Register of Historic Places nomination for the Acadia carriage roads and bridges, "closely resembles a medieval battlement."<sup>181</sup>

The new carriage road connecting Barr Hill with Day Mountain necessitated construction of two bridges, one carrying the road under the Jordan Pond Road (a Seal Harbor town road connecting the village with the Jordan Pond House) and another over the new Stanley Brook motor road which Mr. Rockefeller was simultaneously planning as a new park entrance road from Seal Harbor.

The Jordan Pond Road Bridge [HAER No. ME-44] is one of only two bridges on the system built to carry a motor road over a carriage path (the other is the Eagle Lake Bridge). At the bridge's location, the carriage road passes through a cut on the edge of the village of Seal Harbor, effectively hiding the town from view. The bridge enables the town road to cross on a separate level, preserving the visual separation and affording more safety than a grade crossing.

Construction of the bridge marked another change in Rockefeller's building practice. While most of the bridges had been built by the Candages, the Bubble Pond, Duck Brook and Amphitheatre Road bridges had been built by his own construction crews. For the

Jordan Pond Road Bridge, Rockefeller decided to put the work out for bids. Sam Candage was invited to submit a bid, and he estimated he could build the structure for \$25,158. Rockefeller then asked Ralston what he figured the bridge could be built for, and Ralston estimated \$16,500, though this figure would include no profit for a contractor. However, since Rockefeller's crews were then at work on the Amphitheatre and West Branch Jordan Stream bridges, he decided to solicit more bids for the project. The Augusta, Maine firm of Wyman and Simpson submitted the low bid of \$21,850, considerably less than the Candage proposal, and was awarded the contract. Incidentally, one of the principals was Walworth Simpson, brother of Rockefeller's engineer, Paul Simpson.<sup>182</sup>

Construction of the bridge took place between October 1931 and May 1932. Because of the need to relocate the town's water and sewer lines at the site, the contract price was raised to \$30,000. The final cost came out to \$28,200, or \$1,800 less than the contract--Mr. Rockefeller had finally secured a bargain!<sup>183</sup>

The other bridge on the Barr Hill-Day Mountain Road, Stanley Brook Bridge [HAER No. ME-45], is one of the most formal on the carriage road system. The graceful span employs three arches to cross Stanley Brook, the motor road, and the adjacent Seaside Path, a trail long used by Seal Harborites to stroll to the Jordan Pond House. Charles Stoughton provided the design and Paul Simpson prepared the working drawings for the bridge, which was completed in 1933. For the construction, Rockefeller again sought bids for the work. Wyman and Simpson, the Candages, and another firm, McLaughlin, Inc., all submitted bids, but Ralston estimated he could build the bridge with the Rockefeller crews for less, and was assigned the project.<sup>184</sup>

The 200' bridge is faced in random-laid ashlar granite with projecting blocks adding relief to the spandrel walls. The roadway crosses on a gentle rise, and is bordered by a peaked parapet topped with dressed stone coping. Deep crenelations pierce the parapet walls to either side of center. Beatrix Farrand prescribed the landscape treatment for the bridge, which included "sentinel" maples and ashes at the base of the piers and a densely-planted environ with flowering native shrubs. The

bridge escaped the 1947 fire and her plantings, now matured, can still be seen.

The last of the major carriage road bridges was not built by Rockefeller, but by the federal government. As the Black Woods segment of the Park Loop Road was extended from the Ocean Drive area to Seal Harbor, it had to cross a short connector between the Triad-Bubble Pond and Day Mountain loop carriage roads. Rather than establishing a potentially dangerous grade crossing, the federal government constructed a large grade separation structure to carry the carriage road connector over the new park motor road. The work was carried out in 1941 by a contractor, W. H. Hinman, Inc. of North Anson, Maine, under supervision by the Public Roads Administration. The Triad-Day Mountain Bridge [HAER No. ME-46] is a stone-faced reinforced concrete rigid frame grade separation structure based on the designs for other highway structures on the park loop road, rather than the Rockefeller carriage road bridges. The 74' structure spans the motor road on a shallow segmental arch and is clad in stone, though the coursed ashlar pink granite veneer is more uniform and less rustic than the stonework on the earlier carriage road bridges. The structure cost \$233,744.17, far more than any of the Rockefeller bridges.<sup>185</sup>

#### *Construction of the Bridges*

Mount Desert Island boasts an abundance of fine, densely grained granite which was used for the construction of the bridges and other road-related structures, and which was crushed for the broken stone surfacing. On the eastern side of the island, an attractive pink granite of the Cadillac Mountain formation is common; granite from the western side tends to be gray.

Granite for the bridges was generally obtained from nearby ledges or small quarries. This eliminated long and difficult hauling and insured that the stonework matched adjacent rock croppings. Workers used black powder to fracture the rock because it was slower burning and thereby more controllable than dynamite. The large slabs were then separated into blocks by using drills, plugs and feathers (small wedges and prying bars forced into the drill holes), traditional stonemasons' tools. The blocks were

then hauled on stone boats (sledges pulled by horses or tractors) to cutting platforms, described as heavy, circular benches with a motorized derrick at the center. The derrick would shift the blocks so that the masons could work on each face. The platforms were large enough that several masons and their helpers could work at each. Labor on the open platforms was preferred over work in covered sheds (which were used for a limited amount of work over the winter months) because the wind would carry off the dust. The men worked without modern safety equipment, such as hard hats, safety glasses and respirators. Aprons made from mattress ticking helped protect their clothing, but the men left their watches at home, as the highly abrasive dust would wear out the cases.<sup>186</sup>

Each block had its dimensions transferred from the plans with a stonemason's scale. Lines were drawn with a redwood dowel, which made a finer line than chalk. Wood templates or steel squares were used to insure proper shaping. Once the stones were shaped, they were numbered with a mixture of lampblack and turpentine, then hoisted into place. Wedges were used to keep the joints open until the reinforcing steel or concrete was placed. The arches were constructed over elaborate wooden falsework, which was removed after the arch was complete. Each bridge generally took at least a year to complete.<sup>187</sup>

The foremen for the stonemason crews were Harry G. Somes, whose family had been among the first settlers on the island, and Charles Bunker of Northeast Harbor. Both men recruited the workers, who consisted of stone cutters, masons, helpers and apprentices, tool sharpeners, and crane, derrick and tractor operators. Most of the men were from Mount Desert Island, but others came from as far away as Lamoine, Sullivan and Blue Hill, mainland towns on the adjacent bays. Some men left other jobs, knowing Mr. Rockefeller would be building roads for years and that his money would not run out. The fifteen-man bridge crews worked eight-hour days, starting at seven and taking only a half-hour break for lunch. They brought their lunches from home in pails and kept them warm by leaving them near the blacksmith's forge. Each stonemason brought his own tools to the work; at a cost of about \$100 for a full set, this was a substantial investment for the day. The tools were maintained by tool

sharpeners, or specially-trained blacksmiths.<sup>188</sup>

A stonemason was expected to turn out about one finished good-sized stone per day. For this, they were paid wages starting at \$5 per day in the early 1920s, rising to \$10.50 per day by 1933. The working season generally ran from April to November. This was enough work to support a family, and the workers could generally find some winter work logging or working in a boatyard.<sup>189</sup>

Mr. Rockefeller tried to know all his employees, not just his foremen and engineers, and paid close attention to his workers' performance. Such attention made the men feel their work was appreciated, and undoubtedly helped inspire them to produce the work of such high quality. Rockefeller frequently visited the crews at work, usually dressed in baggy pants, a tweed coat, and a brown felt hat. One foreman failed to recognize him, and thinking him a job applicant, turned him down for the work. (Rockefeller did not hold this against him). He often brought his lunch along in a paper bag, telling the crews he was on a diet and could not share their hearty meals.<sup>190</sup>

Not all of the bridges were of masonry construction. On the Jordan Stream bridle path, the Eagle Lake loop, and the Aunt Betty Pond Road, small wooden bridges were constructed to carry the roads over small streams. [sound of the bridges]

Rockefeller specified how the small bridges were to be built in his 1917 instructions to A. E. Clement for the Jordan Stream bridle path.

The bridges are to be complete, with three steel beams each, of ample weight, and are to be covered with cedar logs, the traveled surface to be hewed. The cedar logs are to be attached to the outside surfaces of the two side beams, and a cedar railing is to be added.<sup>191</sup>

When asked by Beatrix Farrand why some of the bridges had been constructed of wood, Rockefeller stated that by using steel stringers they could be constructed just as strong as stone bridges, pointing out that they had successfully been employed on

the Jordan Stream path. He indicated he was seeking to emphasize the rustic appearance of the bridges through the use of rough cedar logs and poles. In 1929, when Mrs. Farrand considered the construction of the small bridge crossing Duck Brook on the Eagle Lake loop, she suggested that the rails be made of adze-hewn timbers instead of cedar rails, as the cedar lost its bark and began to look shabby in a couple of years. Hewn timber, she said, would be entirely appropriate, having been used in the construction of bridges for hundreds of years.<sup>192</sup> This bridge and subsequent smaller ones were constructed of hewn timber.

#### GATES AND GATE HOUSES

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the carriage road system is that it is a closed system, constructed as an entirely separate network from the island's motor roads. Mr. Rockefeller constructed the roads in reaction to automobile use, and was determined that cars would never be allowed to use them.

Carriage driving was his chief pleasure, and for him the roads were a retreat from the hustle and bustle of everyday life. He prohibited people from "operating motors" on his roads and posted the roads as off-limits to automobiles. He designed the roads to have few contact points with the motor roads, and these junctions were generally gated.

Evidently some motorists ignored the "private road" signs and drove over the roads. In November 1916, Rockefeller issued instructions to close the Jordan Pond gates in order to prevent automobiles from using the Barr Hill and Jordan Pond roads. He also wanted "barriers" installed at the triangle there and on the Green Valley Farm Road.<sup>193</sup>

In October 1917, Rockefeller wrote his first road builder, A. E. Clement, stating that contractor Chauncey Joy had informed him that automobiles were coming onto his roads to pick up wood that had been purchased from along the right-of-way. He told Joy that it was important for all automobiles, except those absolutely required for the road work, to be excluded. Joy replied that he would have his men cooperate by telling motorists not to repeat the offense and by sending Rockefeller the license number for the vehicles. He asked Clement to have his crews cooperate in the

same manner, and to emphasize to the men working on the roads who came in their own automobiles, that they were "privileged characters" in this respect, and that cars would be admitted for no other purpose.<sup>194</sup>

In May 1918, Rockefeller wrote Clement again, noting that he remembered Clement himself using an automobile to inspect the completed work on the roads after the close of the previous year's season. He asked Clement to resume using a horse for this purpose, stating that "for every automobile which goes through the place even for work purposes makes the roads just so much less private for horses and renders it that much more difficult for us to keep cars out." He added that he regretted the workers arrived in their cars in the morning and left at night, but he could think of no alternative.<sup>195</sup> Clearly, he wanted no cars on the roads unless their use was absolutely necessary.

Still, the incursions continued. In 1929, Rockefeller instructed his estate superintendent, S. F. Ralston to erect tents at the Brown Mountain and Eagle Lake road entrances and hire men to live in them and restrict access to the roads.<sup>196</sup> Soon afterwards, he decided to erect gates with accompanying gate houses or lodges at the Brown Mountain and Jordan Pond entrances. He thought the residents, either his employees or the park's, could control access to the road system and help keep motorized vehicles out.

Rockefeller engaged New York architect Grovesnor Atterbury, working in association with John Thomkins, to design the two gate houses. Atterbury had done architectural work for Rockefeller in Cleveland and New York, and had been the architect of the Congregational Society of Seal Harbor's stone church, constructed in 1901.<sup>197</sup> He later built a large stone stable complex for the Rockefeller family on their Pocantico Hills estate.

In summer 1929, Rockefeller sent Atterbury west to study the architecture then being employed in the western national parks. He especially wanted Atterbury to see the El Tovar Hotel and Grand Canyon Lodge at Grand Canyon, new structures at Bryce Canyon National Park, and the Ranger Club at Yosemite, an alpine chalet style structure given to the park by NPS Director Stephen Mather. On his return, Atterbury reported his findings. He had

been especially impressed with the high-peaked roofs used on some park structures, as they were both picturesque and functional, shedding snow in the winter. He also noted that park structures tended to harmonize, not contrast, with the landscapes through the use of native materials and appropriate colors.<sup>198</sup> These principles would be adopted in his designs for the carriage road gate houses at Acadia.

Mr. Rockefeller entered into a series of discussions with Atterbury and National Park Service architects before arriving at a decision to have the gate lodges constructed in a highly picturesque revival style inspired by the French provincial architecture of the Le Puis district. George Dorr was delighted, noting the region had been the home of the self-styled Sieur de Monts, and he thought the style would have important symbolic associations.<sup>199</sup>

As with the construction of the carriage road bridges, Atterbury, Paul Simpson and Mr. Rockefeller worked together on the gate lodges. Simpson prepared the topographic surveys and forwarded them to Atterbury. The site preparation was done by Ralston's crew from the estate, and consisted of laying out the roads, providing the utilities, and preparing the foundations. The actual construction contract was awarded in October 1931 by Rockefeller to C. M. Smallidge of Seal Harbor on the basis of Smallidge's \$81,425 bid.<sup>200</sup> The lodges were completed in 1932.

Both gate houses are elaborate residences faced in quarried grey granite, laid in courses separated by string courses of old brick, giving a polychromatic appearance to the walls. The upper levels of the two-story structures are of half-timber construction, with hand-made brick imported from Holland and other brick from James River Brick in Richmond as the nogging between the heavy timber braces. The timber is "pecky" cypress that was scorched before construction to give it an aged appearance. Roofs are of French shingle tile.<sup>201</sup>

Brown Mountain Lodge, a mile north of Asticou, serves as the entry to the Hadlock Pond/Aunt Betty Pond Road and the western terminus of the Amphitheatre Road. The gate house is a unified complex consisting of gate, residence and carriage house. The

three structures are arranged in a half hexagon and are connected by dressed stone walls with the brick string courses spaced at 15" intervals. The cypress gates are located between two octagonal towers, connected by a gabled roof with a segmental arch over the roadway. The towers are topped by high octagonal spires covered with the shingle tile. Rounded arch windows filled with turned spindles, and small casement windows provide light and ventilation, and Dutch doors provide access.

The lodge itself is a two-story French Provincial structure of rectangular plan and is topped by a high side-gable bellcast roof covered with shingle tile. The lower level is of the coursed granite and the upper floor is half-timbered construction with brick nogging. The three-ranked road facade is distinguished by a central gable dormer flanked by hipped bay dormers. Casement windows on this facade are glazed with small circular panes. The main facade faces a grassed courtyard at the rear, and features a projecting gabled porch supported by stone piers with a half-timbered gable above. Dormer windows flank the porch. Fenestration on this facade and the elevations consists of casement windows with rectangular lights. The elevations or gable ends have granite and brick chimneys set into the walls; these are topped by circular terra cotta chimney pots.

The carriage house is square in plan and features a hipped tile roof with a central square wooden cupola. A doored gable or "bonnet" with a projecting hook was probably designed to hoist fodder in the second floor hayloft. A heavy wooden roll-up door provides access to the structure. The gates consist of two octagonal stone-faced towers connected by a gabled roof over the heavy wooden gates.

The gates, lodge and carriage house are connected by banded stone walls running diagonally between the structures and projecting out toward the motor road, where they terminate in heavy piers with gabled tile tops. Small wooden gates are located between the lodge and the two ancillary structures. A second wall projects east from the southeast corner of the building and partially enclosed the rear court. The landscape was designed by Beatrix Farrand and features a number of ornamental trees not native to the island.<sup>202</sup>

The Jordan Pond Gate House complex is of similar design but is arranged in a linear fashion, with the lodge connected to the carriage house by a covered passageway and to the gates by a stone fence. The 1½-story L-plan lodge is of dressed stone construction on the first floor; the half-timbered second floor projects out and is supported by cypress brackets. Like the Brown Mountain Lodge, the structure features scorched cypress timbers, soft brick infill, casement windows, and a steeply-pitched roof of shingle tile broken by half-hipped dormers. A small entry porch supported by heavy stone piers is inset into the northwest corner beneath the projecting upper story.

The connected carriage house is a rectangular structure topped by a bellcast tile hipped tile roof with wooden cupola and features large double-leaf cypress doors. A large gabled dormer faces the road to the west; beneath it is a series of small round holes for a dovecote.

Following the completion of the gate houses, Rockefeller turned them over to the government. Congress approved a bill in 1931 authorizing the Interior Department to take over and maintain one of the gate houses; both evidently soon came under government control. In the summer of 1934, the Brown Mountain gate house was occupied by a landscape foreman directing a Civilian Conservation Corps crew at work in the park. An arrangement had been made whereby the man could occupy the house if he would maintain the grounds. Rockefeller complained to his friend, former Park Service Director Albright, that the man had asked Ralston to have the grass mown, and expressed concerns that neither the man nor the park were maintaining the residence. Albright promised to look into the matter.<sup>203</sup> The residences today are used as park housing for seasonal rangers.

Despite all the measures taken, there were still incidents when automobiles came on to the roads. In the fall of 1935, Rockefeller complained to Dorr that park vehicles were coming on to the roads in to patrol against poaching and to distribute fish to various lakes and ponds. Rockefeller insisted that such use was not intended or covered by his agreement with the Park Service, and he entered "an informal complaint" against such use. Dorr wrote back that the park would cooperate and follow the

policy.<sup>204</sup>

For some years, the two gate houses and a gate at the end of the Duck Brook Bridge were the only entrances to the carriage roads except for the internal connectors to the Rockefeller property. In later years, the National Park Service provided new access points at Eagle Lake, Bubble Pond and the Parkman Mountain parking area. The gates are used only by park personnel for maintenance purposes. Cyclists can slip onto the roads from several other points, and the Wildwood Stables near the Jordan Pond House provides access to the system for horses and carriages. Private automobiles are still prohibited from using the carriage roads, though it is not uncommon to see park vehicles out on the system.<sup>205</sup>

#### TRIANGLES AND ROAD SIGNS

Due to the plethora of carriage roads, and a confusing number of intersections, navigation around the system would be difficult for most visitors were it not for the wooden signposts placed at each intersection. The wooden signboards are suspended from cedar posts and are generally marked with the points of interest or likely destinations for carriage road users. The arms from which the signs are hung indicate the direction of travel. Some signs are located in the triangles, or islands in the center of intersections; others are located to the side.

The signs were constructed in the mid-1930s by Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees assigned to Acadia National Park. The signs were designed by park resident landscape architect Benjamin Breeze, who oversaw their construction. The design was approved by Mr. Rockefeller.

In October 1936, Rockefeller told Breeze that if the park's appropriation was insufficient to construct all the signs, he would make up the difference. Breeze wrote back that the park's \$160 allocation would construct 60 of the required 84 signs at a material cost of \$2.50 per unit, and asked for an additional \$75 to purchase materials to complete the work. Breeze urged that the number of directional sign boards be limited, as the initial plans to include as many as twelve signboards on each arm would

make for an overloaded appearance. Also, the original plan to attach the signboards to the arms with eye screws and chains had proven impracticable, as the weight of the signs pulled the eye screws out. In their stead, the signboards would be attached to iron straps suspended from the arms. Breeze stated that he was also working on designs for signs to be placed the entrances to the carriage roads from the motor roads, modeling them after the existing sign at the Jordan Pond Gate Lodge.<sup>206</sup> (Apparently, these were never erected.)

In December 1936, Paul Simpson wrote Mr. Rockefeller concerning the location of the directional signs at various triangles. Where triangles were very small, he recommended placing the signs at the sides of the road. At larger triangles, however, he thought the signs would be better placed at the points of the triangle. Where a road left off at a right angle, Breeze had recommended using additional posts, rather than a single post as had been planned, to limit the number of signboards arranged vertically. Breeze had submitted designs for the signs which Simpson found "very attractive." He said they would "add a feature to the driving roads that is much needed and one that will be much appreciated, I am sure." Breeze hoped the placement of the signs could begin very soon, and was only awaiting approval from Thomas C. Vint, Chief of the NPS Branch of Design and Construction. Simpson was meanwhile completing the study of the various triangles to determine what signs would be required. Rockefeller wrote back that he was "gratified" with Simpson's and Breeze's work, and expected the CCC camps to begin constructing the signs as soon as approval was received from Mr. Vint.<sup>207</sup>

During his visit to the island for the summer of 1937, Rockefeller inspected the new signs and wrote Breeze that he was "greatly pleased," calling the signs "good looking, appropriate, durable and most helpful." His only regret was that distances had not been included. Some signs pointed to the same place in two directions, and the stranger would know which is the longer route. He conceded that adding the distances would not have been

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easy, but suggested they be included as more signs were made.<sup>208</sup>

#### DECLINE IN USE

By the time the carriage road system was complete, there had been a pronounced shift in recreational activities on Mount Desert Island. Fewer cottagers came for the summer, and interest and carriage driving and horseback riding declined. Accompanying this trend was a significant increase in automotive tourism, and soon the most popular activity in Acadia National Park was motoring around the nearly complete Park Loop Road or the scenic drive to the summit of Cadillac Mountain. Consequently, use of the carriage roads by carriage drivers or horseback riders never reached the level Mr. Rockefeller had envisioned.

By late 1939, Mr. Rockefeller conceded that, as horse use in Acadia was not very considerable, a planned request to the town to abandon the New Eagle Lake Road for use as a carriage road would meet with considerable opposition. However, as he owned all the land on both sides of the road except for a lot at the Bar Harbor end, and it was clear he intended to convey this land to the park, he thought it would reasonable to ask the town to abandon the road to the park for whatever use the park authorities determined. It might, be admitted, continue as a motor road indefinitely, but the possibility of a restriction to horse use would remain.<sup>209</sup> He evidently never followed up on the plan, and the route remains a public road today.

The National Park Service's 1940 Master Plan for Acadia National Park reported that the carriage roads were used by relatively few visitors.

Operation of this system of horse roads can not be said to have advanced to a conclusive solution. At present the system has no headquarters not has it been fully exploited for public use. Connection with Island towns is not as yet fully developed and horses and riding equipment depots do not exist except as private concerns outside of the park. There are now no scheduled tours of the carriage road system under the direction of the Park Naturalist's guide service. Therefore, the principal traffic on these roads is from the summer colonists who have horses or can afford the charges for hiring them plus a meager number of tourists who may happen to learn about this facility.<sup>210</sup>

The projected Kebo Mountain Circuit Road was still included in the master plan; its cost was estimated at \$342,000. All of the land was included in the park except for minor parcels.<sup>211</sup> However, with interest fading in carriage driving, the road was never constructed.

Mr. Rockefeller continued to keep up the carriage road system, even though he had transferred most of the roads to the park. He kept crews of roughly fifty men at work through the summer season maintaining the roads and removing dead trees and branches along the way. This work included the 46 miles in Acadia National Park as well as the 11 miles on his own estate.<sup>212</sup>

Then disaster struck. On 23 October 1947, a fire erupted on Mount Desert Island and quickly raged out of control, ultimately devastating nearly 18,000 acres of forested land in the park. In addition to the loss of 170 homes of permanent residents, the fire also destroyed 67 of the summer cottages, effectively ending Bar Harbor's role as a summer resort for the wealthy. Sixteen square miles of park land burned over, as did another thirteen square miles outside the park.<sup>213</sup>

During the conflagration, the carriage roads finally demonstrated their long-touted value for fire protection purposes. They were used to move fire-fighting equipment from one location to another, enabling crews to fight back the flames which might have ravaged Seal Harbor and Northeast Harbor, both of which were spared. Following the fire, a stunned Mr. Rockefeller paid for much of the landscape cleanup work. Most of the work was carried out by Rockefeller crews under the supervision of Robert DeRevere, his estate superintendent, under authorization from park superintendent Frank R. Givens.<sup>214</sup>

In the 1950s, Freeman Tilden, the "father of interpretation" in the National Park Service, lamented that Rockefeller's marvelous horse road system were disappointingly underutilized.

Much as John D. Rockefeller, Jr. has done in the field of cultural health of the American people, these horse roads, to me, represent the finest example of his public spirit and large imagination. And yet, truth to tell, those horse

roads of Acadia likewise represent on our humanitarian's few disappointments in the preservation of our historical heritage. . . These carriage roads of Acadia, which usher one into a little world unknown to most of us, are not used enough for that noble purpose that inspired their creation.<sup>215</sup>

However, Tilden believed the public would someday recognize the roads for the splendid recreation they might afford, and to this Thomas Vint agreed, stating "Some day the spark that will lead the public to them will flash, and they will come into their own."<sup>216</sup>

On Rockefeller's death in 1960, responsibility for maintaining the roads fell on the National Park Service. The agency was unable to delegate any funding for the work, and over the next two decades, the condition of the roads deteriorated severely. The road surface gradually washed out in many places and thinned in others, meaning that the finer stone top surface yielded to courser stones, making travel more difficult. Drains and culverts were blocked, forcing water over the roads and gouging gullies. The carefully-planned vistas were obscured by the growing trees. The National Park Service did not intentionally neglect the roads, but the agency's shrinking budget prohibited major work. In 1989, park superintendent John A. Hauptman stated that "although the carriage roads appear fine to many, most are little more than fire roads through the woods. The once expertly engineered roads and bridges are now becoming overgrown, muddy and rutted, making them only marginally usable as bike paths and carriage roads."<sup>217</sup>

#### BICYCLES AND THE CARRIAGE ROADS

In response to a September 1940 request by Northeast Harbor summer resident W. Barton Eddison, who wished for the park to allow cycling over the carriage roads, the Park Service Region One office in Richmond, Virginia directed Acadia Resident Landscape Architect Benjamin L. Breeze to report on the possibilities. Breeze pedaled over forty miles of the roads as well as some of the truck or fire roads and submitted the report. He stated that he found cycling over the roads pleasant and not too arduous. The roads would require occasional dragging and rolling

to keep the surface hard enough for bicycle tires. Breeze found some grades so steep that he had to walk the bike, but these did not involve long distances. Based on prevailing rental rates, he found a cyclist could travel twice as far in two days travel at one-twelfth the cost of hiring horses. On the basis of Breeze's report, Acting Regional Director E. M. Lisle recommended that the Service adopt a policy of allowing joint use of the roads by cyclists and horsemen. Only minor extra maintenance, estimated to cost about \$300 a year, would be required to put the roads in proper order. He suggested a small fee might be charged for use of the roads by cyclists. In 1949, NPS Director Newton B. Drury wrote Mr. Rockefeller that serious consideration should be given to encouraging bicycle use over at least some sections of the carriage road system.<sup>218</sup> Although park records are scanty and do not provide a date, by the 1960s, bicyclists were using the carriage roads legally.

To facilitate easier bicycle travel, the park surfaced the popular Eagle Lake loop with finer gravel in the 1970s.<sup>219</sup> The Witch Hole Pond and Paradise Hill loops were later given the same treatment. All of the roads were treated with similar surfacing during the 1990s rehabilitation project.

As late as the 1980s, most users of the carriage roads remained hikers and horsemen. Bicycles were relatively uncommon. But with the advent of the mountain bike, which had wider tires, beefier frames and better gearing, bicycle use increased dramatically. The new bikes were ideally suited for the carriage roads. Today, cyclists make up the majority of the carriage road users.

The increased bicycle use has generated some criticism. Some walkers and horse riders complain that many cyclists travel at excessive rates of speed and are occasionally surprised at being overtaken. Many believe that the roads are becoming too crowded with bicycles. Bar Harbor, which once had only one bicycle shop, now has four, all of which provide rental mountain bikes for visitors. A few cyclists have found the carriage roads too tame and have resorted to taking their bikes off road onto park trails, causing resource damage. The park has responded by

assigning "roving rangers" to patrol the carriage roads and to encourage proper etiquette from users.

#### CARRIAGE ROAD REHABILITATION

The continuing deterioration of the carriage road system finally prompted efforts to save the historic resource. In 1989, the National Park Service commissioned an historic resource study for the carriage road system. The study, prepared under contract by Reiley and Associates of Charlottesville, Virginia, documented the history of the system and made recommendations for its rehabilitation and maintenance.

Friends of Acadia, the park cooperating association, and the park subsequently initiated a four-year rehabilitation of the system. The work was carried out through the 1990s with public and matching private funds.

Two miles the Amphitheatre Loop were restored in 1990 as a pilot project. This phase of the work was funded by David Rockefeller, son of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and by Frederic Bourke. Maine's U.S. senators, George Mitchell and William Cohen, and U.S. Representative Olympia Snowe met with Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan, Jr. and representatives from the Friends of Acadia at the Jordan Pond House to discuss the further rehabilitation of the system. This meeting resulted in plans for cooperative efforts between the federal government and the private sector to restore the carriage roads.

In spring 1992, Acadia National Park began a four-year program to rehabilitate the carriage roads. The planned work would include removal of all woody vegetation from the roads, shoulders and ditches; reestablishing proper drainage; application of new surface material; resetting or replacing missing coping stones; and, reopening some of the original vistas. Project funding would come from federal sources and matching private funds raised by the Friends of Acadia.<sup>220</sup>

The federal government allocated \$4 million for the project, and the Friends of Acadia began raising matching funds to establish an endowment fund to provide for future maintenance. By

September 1994, the group had raised approximately \$3.5 million for its share.<sup>221</sup>

The Park Service's October 1992 General Management Plan for Acadia National Park listed the rehabilitation of the carriage road system as one of the primary objectives. The work, which would be directed by special cultural landscape studies based on the Reiley report, would include "an investigation of road construction techniques, analysis of the road surfaces and bridge integrity, management of vistas, and development of rehabilitation specifications." New maintenance guidelines would ensure that the roads were kept up properly following the planned rehabilitation work.<sup>222</sup>

The plan called for the construction of a bridge or underpass to eliminate the hazardous grade crossing of the carriage road and the Park Loop Road at Bubble Pond. The new structure would be designed with an appropriate granite facing to harmonize with other carriage and motor road bridges. A new connector would be built at Wildwood stables in order to reduce the sharp, dangerous grade. The steep trail connecting the Halls Cove Visitor Center with the Paradise Hill loop would be obliterated and replaced with a new access trail of gentler grade. The park would also consider constructing a new link between Bar Harbor and Sieur de Monts Spring to the Eagle Lake system, perhaps following one of the routes contemplated by Mr. Rockefeller, as well as a trail over Youngs Mountain from the Mount Desert Island High School. The latter trail would provide cyclists easier access, avoiding the traffic on Route 233.<sup>223</sup> None of these proposals have yet been implemented.

In June 1994, the National Park Service selected the MacQuinn Construction Company of Ellsworth to rehabilitate the first 20 miles of the carriage roads. The company had long been involved with the park's carriage and motor roads. Harold MacQuinn of Halls Cove, the company's founder, got his start hauling men and supplies for some of Mr. Rockefeller's projects. He put his profits into additional equipment, and set up a concrete, stone and general contracting company. He built the bridges on the Paradise Hill Road in the early 1950s and subsequently completed a number of other projects in the park. Ron Hamel of the Acadia

National Park Maintenance Division noted that MacQuinn had always performed high-quality work. Since he lived on the island, people would know about his projects and freely offer their opinions and criticisms.<sup>224</sup>

In July 1994, MacQuinn Construction Company began the rehabilitation with work on the Aunt Betty Pond Road between the Parkman Mountain parking area (post 11) to the intersection with the Around-the-Mountain loop (post 13). Project estimates called for resurfacing the road with approximately 50,000 tons of crushed stone, placement of 100' of new culvert, cleaning another 1,300' of culverts, reconstruction of 300' of stone ditching, and resetting approximately 600 coping stones.

NPS project engineer Mike Williams stated that an early challenge was determining the proper surface treatment. A too packed road would encourage cyclists to travel too fast, where a loose surface was preferred by horseback riders and hikers. However, if the surface was too loose, there would be more bicycle accidents. Williams stated that the project intended to provide "a happy medium," which would be acceptable to all users.<sup>225</sup>

The historic pinkish hue of the carriage roads, resulting from the use of crushed pink granite native to the eastern part of the island where the roads are located, changed to gray as the gravel used in the resurfacing had to be trucked in for use.<sup>226</sup> This resulted from National Park Service regulations which prohibit the operation of quarries or borrow pits within the parks and generally restrict the use of parkland stone.

As of the end of fiscal year 1993, the park had spent \$1.184 million on the rehabilitation project, and projected spending another \$2.516 million through the end of fiscal 1995 for a total of \$4 million. A carriage road bridge rehabilitation study had been completed, and a vista management plan had been prepared. Planning was still required for the rehabilitation of the gate houses and the bridges.<sup>227</sup>

Bids for the remaining work came in higher than expected, and the park indicated it had spent \$1.25 million for salaries and benefits for employees involved in the preliminary work for the

project. The park insisted on using its maintenance division for some of the work, as one of the goals was to train the employees to maintain the road after the project. The park purchased some equipment, including an aerial tree trimmer and chipper.<sup>228</sup>

The higher costs concerned Duane Pierson, president of the Friends of Acadia. The new work would virtually deplete the \$3.5 million in matching funds raised by the group for the project. However, he credited the park with helping to hold down costs.<sup>229</sup> Despite the measures which were taken, in June 1994 the park administration, admitting the cost was higher than had been anticipated, submitted a request for another \$1.6 million to complete the work. This would fund the rehabilitation of a further 16 miles of road at a cost of \$80,000 per mile with a small contingency.<sup>230</sup>

As of the end of the 1994 work season, the contractors had rehabilitated 28 miles of the system and completed survey and design work for the remaining 16 miles within the park boundaries. All of the carriage road bridges had been inspected and tested, and plans had been made for replacing the deteriorated wooden bridges on the Jordan Stream bridle path. The vista management plan was complete and being implemented; six "high priority" vistas were reestablished by the end of the year. Park day labor forces finished the vegetation removal for all 44 miles of road and cleared a third of the roadside ditches. Some 13 miles was substantially reconstructed in 1994, this work including resurfacing with more than 40,000 tons of aggregate, clearing and reshaping ditches, cleaning or replacing culverts, and retrieval and resetting of missing coping stones.<sup>231</sup> As the field work for this report was being completed, the carriage road rehabilitation was still underway.

#### THE CARRIAGE ROADS TODAY

Although the carriage roads were never heavily used during Mr. Rockefeller's lifetime, and nearly fell into disuse upon his death, today they are more popular than ever, and are one of the chief attractions of Acadia National Park. Walking, horseback riding, and especially mountain bike cycling are among the most popular pastimes enjoyed by park visitors. A few still use the

carriage roads for their intended use, i.e., carriage driving. Use of the roads soared during the 1980s, and is expected to further increase following the completion of the rehabilitation project.

The park conducted a carriage road census on 2 August 1994 during the HAER documentation project. Between 9 AM and 6 PM, a total of 1,802 users were counted. As expected, the Eagle Lake area was the most heavily used, with 763 visitors (42.35 percent) entering the system at the area's two parking areas. Duck Brook Bridge, the entrance to the Witch Hole Pond and Paradise Hill loops, was the second most popular, with 290 visitors (16.09 percent) counted. The largest number of visitors entered between 11 AM and 12 noon. Bikers were the most common (70.48 percent), followed by walkers (26.53 percent) and runners (1.78 percent). Twenty carriages (1.11 percent) and two horseback riders (.11 percent) were recorded.<sup>232</sup>

These one-day statistics do not reflect that many of the users are those that cannot otherwise enjoy access to Acadia's back-country. These include the elderly and infirm, small children, and babies in perambulators. For them, the carriage roads' gentle grades allow them to see much of the park's splendid scenery that cannot always be glimpsed from its excellent motor road system. In the winter, the carriage roads are also appreciated by cross-country skiers, and where they are allowed, by snowmobilers. But the overwhelming majority of users today are bicyclists, though they are restricted to the carriage roads within the park boundaries. (In 1994, the Greenrock Company, agents for the Rockefeller properties, posted the estate lands south of the park off-limits to bicycles.)

While the roads never attracted large numbers of carriages, they still use the system today. Wildwood Stables, a park concessionaire, offers wagon rides around and to the summit of Day Mountain, and to the Jordan Pond House for afternoon tea. A number of visitors bring their own carriages and carts. In September 1994, the park was host to a five-day carriage drive sponsored by the American Driving Society. ADS members brought more than fifty coaches, surreys, hansom, phaetons and buckboards to the park. Park officials gave the group a special-use permit to drive over the Eagle Lake and Witch Hole loops, which

are generally closed to horses.<sup>233</sup>

#### MR. ROCKEFELLER'S LEGACY AT ACADIA

John D. Rockefeller, Jr. was the greatest benefactor of the National Park Service. Over a period of several decades, he donated a millions of dollars of his immense personal fortune for park projects, and Rockefeller family foundations transferred even more. Rockefeller money helped purchase lands for Great Smoky Mountains, Shenandoah, Yosemite, Grand Teton, Castillo de San Marcos, the Blue Ridge Parkway and other national park units. Rockefeller funds cleaned up the roadsides in Yellowstone, purchased groves of threatened redwood trees in California, and helped fund construction of a museum at Mesa Verde. But the national park on Maine's Mount Desert Island was closest to the philanthropist's heart. He began building roads here before the first national monument was established, and continued well into the national park years. His first contributions to the national park system were the transfer of early sections of the carriage roads, and by the end of the 1930s he had donated land, roads and funds to Acadia totaling roughly \$4 million.

In many cases, Mr. Rockefeller acquired the lands on which to construct the carriage roads, saw to their construction, then turned the tracts over to the national park. Ultimately, nearly a third of the land encompassed within the park boundaries was donated by him. He shared George Dorr's expanded vision for the park, that it should extend from the mountain summits to the sea, from Somes Sound to the island's eastern shore. That much of the island was ultimately acquired for the park is a result of Mr. Rockefeller's interest and assistance.

Thomas Vint, for many years the Park Service's Chief Landscape Architect once remarked on Rockefeller's work to Freeman Tilden, the "father of interpretation" in the National Park Service.

Many people know how much Mr. Rockefeller has done for the park in acquiring land and building roads, and bridges and structures for it. But I think there are few who realize the amount of personal time and study he has given to it. He actually developed the general plan for the present Park.

His land acquisition was pointed towards definite objectives--a working unit at a time, in which the boundaries were studied from the viewpoint that the need for land was to be established and then acquisition carried out to meet the objective. This often meant the inclusion of a number of expensive highly-developed properties as well as the large wooded areas that the more obvious type of park acquisition.<sup>234</sup>

The carriage roads themselves are the most obvious manifestation of Mr. Rockefeller's role in the development of Acadia National Park. Their beauty and utility, their careful attention to design, and the wholesome recreation they afford, are appreciated by hundreds of thousands of visitors each year. His "Eyrie" mansion at Seal Harbor has been demolished, and the way of life Rockefeller and other summer cottagers enjoyed on the island is a relict of the past, but his carriage roads are his lasting legacy.

ENDNOTES

1. See John Wilmerding, *The Artist's Mount Desert: American Painters on the Maine Coast* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).
2. Alec J. Grant, *A Guide to Bar Harbor, Mount Desert Island, Maine* (Bar Harbor, ME: Bar Harbor Board of Trade, 1901), 23.
3. Sargent F. Collier, *Mt. Desert Island and Acadia National Park: An Informal History* (Camden, ME: Downeast Books, 1978), 117; Lenard E. Brown, *Acadia National Park: Basic History Data* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Office of History and Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, February 1971), 76; Batti D'Angelo, "The Arrival of the Automobile," in Tammis E. Coffin, editor, *The Rusticator's Journal: A Collection of Articles from the Friends of Acadia Journal* (Bar Harbor, ME: Friends of Acadia, 1993), 31.
4. Grace Goulder, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.: The Cleveland Years* (Cleveland, OH: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1972), 83-85, 147.
5. Quoted in Ann Rockefeller Roberts, *Mr. Rockefeller's Roads: The Untold Story of Acadia's Carriage Roads & Their Creator* (Camden, ME: Downeast Books, 1990), 18.
6. Goulder, 147, 151-52; Roberts, 18.
7. Roberts, 23.
8. Goulder, 148, 226; Raymond B. Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.: A Portrait* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), 95.
9. Joseph W. Ernst, editor, *Worthwhile Places: Correspondence of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and Horace M. Albright* (New York: Fordham University Press for the Rockefeller Archives Center, 1991), overview, 3-5.
10. Roberts, 47; Ida Minerva Tarbell, *History of the Standard Oil Company*, 2 vol. (New York, McClure, Phillips & Co., 1904).

11. Goulder, 210; William G. Lord, *Blue Ridge Parkway Guide*, 2 vols. (Birmingham, AL: Menasha Ridge Press, 1981), II, 16-19. Cone Memorial Park is now a unit of the Blue Ridge Parkway; after Acadia National Park, it contains the most extensive carriage road network in the national park system.

12. Much of the Pocantico Hills system is now part of the Rockefeller State Park Preserve.

13. Peter Collier and David Horowitz, *The Rockefellers: An American Dynasty* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), 97.

14. Rockefeller purchased the house and 15 acres for \$26,600. Over the next seven years, he would spend another \$268,354.93 on improvements to the house alone, making it the grandest house on the south side of the island. Charles O. Heydt to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 26 October 1917, folder 891, box 89, record group 2, Homes--Seal Harbor (hereafter RG 2), Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller (hereafter designated OMR), Rockefeller Archives Center, (hereafter designated RAC).

15. Collier and Horowitz, 135.

16. Collier, 119.

17. The Jordan Pond House had been established as a farm in 1847 by George N. and John S. Jordan, who ran a logging business at the south end of Jordan Pond. Following an 1864 fire which destroyed the surrounding timber, they sold out to Melvin Tibbets, who started providing food for visitors in 1888. It became a tea house in 1896. It was acquired by Mr. Rockefeller in 1928 and turned over by him to the Acadia National Park in 1940. Mildred L. Wright, "Seal Harbor," and Richard M. Savage II, "Acadia National Park," in Gunnar Hansen, ed., *Mount Desert: An Informal History* (Mount Desert, ME: Town of Mount Desert, 1989), 99, 152.

18. A. E. Clement letterhead, 1916; John D. Rockefeller, Jr., New York, to Clement, Seal Harbor, ME, 3 September 1915, folder 720, box 71, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

19. Robert R. Pyle, "Northeast Harbor," in Hansen, 79-80; George L. Stebbins, Seal Harbor, ME to Rockefeller, 16 May 1914, 19 June 1914, folder 1080, box 109, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

20. Stebbins to Rockefeller, 19 June 1914.

21. Rockefeller to Stebbins, 17 September 1914, folder 1080, box 109, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

22. Rockefeller Archives Center, "Profile Regarding Charles P. Simpson," folder 1, box 1, RG IV3A10, Simpson Family Papers, RAC.

23. Roberts, 72.

24. Rockefeller to Charles Simpson, Sullivan Harbor, ME, 13 October 1915, folder 3, box 1, RG IV3A10, Simpson Family Papers, RAC.

25. Rockefeller to Ann Archbold, Boston, MA, 8 September 1927, folder 1079, box 109, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

26. Rockefeller to Charles Simpson, 13 October 1914, folder 1080, box 109, Homes (Seal Harbor), OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

27. George B. Dorr, *The Story of Acadia National Park*, 2 vols. (Bar Harbor, ME: Acadia Publishing Company, 1991), 13-16; Keith N. Morgan, "Held in Trust: Charles Eliot's Vision for the New England Landscape," *Workbook* (Journal of National Association for Olmsted Parks), Vol. 1, 1991; Arno B. Cammerer, Assistant Director, and Thomas C. Vint, Chief Landscape Engineer, National Park Service, "Memorandum on a Development Plan for Lafayette National Park," 1927, RG 79, National Park Service, Central Classified Files, Arno B. Cammerer Papers, National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA).

The first parcel acquired by the Trustees was a small tract near Seal Harbor where they erected a plaque commemorating French explorer Samuel de Champlain's landing in 1604. They then received a large tract including the Bowl and the Beehive near

the island's eastern shore, and purchased the summit of Cadillac Mountain. By 1913 the Trustees controlled more than 5,000 acres. (Brown, 70-72).

28.Dorr, 93-94.

29.Waldron Bates, Edward L. Rand and Herbert Jaques, "Path Map of the Eastern Part of Mount Desert Island, Maine" (Boston, MA: Geo. H. Walker & Co, 1916, 1917).

30.Clement to Rockefeller, 5 June 1916, folder 1080, box 109, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

31.Rockefeller to Clement, 16 November 1916; Rockefeller to Clement, 12 May 1917; Clement to Rockefeller, 9 May 1917, folder 720, box 71, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

32.Charles W. Eliot, Cambridge, MA to Rockefeller, 30 September 1916; Rockefeller to Eliot, 18 October 1916, folder 1080, box 109, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

33.Rockefeller to Stebbins, 14 January 1916, folder 1080, box 109, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

34.Rockefeller, "Memorandum Covering the Several Roads Surveyed and Agreed Upon at Seal Harbor in November 1917," folder 1080, box 109, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

35.A magazine articles erroneously states that the bridge was constructed of cobbles because the builder did not know how to work with cut stone. (Russ and Pam Butcher, "Carriage Roads and Bridges of Acadia National Park, Downeast Magazine, August 1972, 52).

36.Rockefeller to Clement, 28 September 1917, folder 1232, box 122, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

37.Collier and Horowitz, 135.

38.After Pierre du Guast, the Sieur de Monts, sponsor of Samuel de Champlain's 1604-05 expedition which discovered Mount Desert Island.

39. Judith S. Goldstein, *Tragedies & Triumphs: Charles W. Eliot, George B. Dorr, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the Founding of Acadia National Park* (Somesville, ME: Port in a Storm Bookstore, 1992), 22.

40. Richard Warden Hale, Jr., *The Story of Bar Harbor: An Informal History Recording One Hundred and Fifty Years in the Life of a Community* (New York: Ives Washburn, Inc., 1949), 200. Dorr wanted the name "Mount Desert National Park," but many in Congress did not want to give park status to what sounded like a desert wasteland, and the name "Lafayette" was selected in response to pro-French sentiment aroused by the Great War.

41. Brown, 78-79.

42. Rockefeller to Dorr, 11 November 1918, cited in Ann Rockefeller Roberts, "John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Road Builder, Landscape Architect: An Intimate Look at His Role in the Development of the Carriage Roads at Acadia National Park," MLA thesis, University of Virginia, 1988, 22.

43. Dorr to Rockefeller, 2 January 1920, 10, folder 839, box 85, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

44. Roberts, 24.

45. Dorr to Rockefeller, 2 January 1920, 8-9.

46. George Wharton Pepper to Rockefeller, 15 August 1920, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

47. Rockefeller to Pepper, 20 August 1920, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

48. Roberts, 81.

49. Ibid., 83-84.

50. In 1919, the National Park Service would rename Green Mountain "Cadillac Mountain" after Antoine de Laumet, a French adventurer who styled himself as the "Sieur de Cadillac." Laumet (La Mothe) secured a grant to part of the island and a portion of the

mainland to the north in 1688. He settled briefly on the island, becoming its first permanent resident, before relocating to Montreal. He later founded the city of Detroit and became the first governor of Louisiana while it remained a French possession.

51. See the related report in this series, HAER No. ME-12, ACADIA NATIONAL PARK MOTOR ROADS, for a full report on the park motor road system.

52. Collier, 120; Roberts, 87.

53. Rockefeller to Dorr, 28 May 1921, folder 839, box 85, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

54. Cited in Butcher, 54.

55. Cammerer, "Report of Inspection Trip to Lafayette National Park, Maine," Memorandum to Stephen T. Mather, Director, National Park Service, 8 June 1922, 1-2, RG 79, Central Classified Files, Arno B. Cammerer papers, NARA.

56. Ibid., 4.

57. Ibid., 5-6.

58. Ibid., 4-5, 8-10.

59. Cammerer and Vint, "Memorandum on a Development Plan," *op cit.*, 25-27.

60. Cammerer to Dorr, 26 July 1922. "Papers Relating to Road Hearing Before Secretary Work, March 26, 1924," Acadia National Park (hereafter ACAD) Library.

61. Roberts thesis, 34.

62. Cammerer to Dorr, 5 January 1924, in "Papers Relating to Road Hearing Before Secretary Work, March 26, 1924," ACAD Library.

63. Dorr to Cammerer, 7 January 1924; Cammerer to Dorr, telegram, 9 January 1924, in "Papers Relating to Road Hearing Before Secretary Work, March 26, 1924," ACAD Library.

64.Dorr to Cammerer, 10 January 1924, in "Papers Relating to Road Hearing Before Secretary Work, March 26, 1924," ACAD Library.

65.Ibid.

66.Roberts, 94; Paul Simpson to Rockefeller, 18 March 1924, folder 2, box 72, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

67.Resolution, Southwest Harbor Board of Trade, 22 January 1924; Charles H. Leland, President, Ellsworth Board of Trade, to Director, National Park Service, 17 March 1924; Roselle Woodbridge Huddilston, President, Maine League of Women Voters, to Director of National Parks, 21 February 1924; Morris McDonald, President, Maine Central Railroad, to Director of National Park Service, 29 February 1924; Resolution, [Maine] State Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture League, 8 March 1924; John Calvin Stevens, President, Portland Chamber of Commerce, to National Park Service, 29 February 1924; "Island Towns All for Park Roads," *Bar Harbor [ME] Times*, 5 March 1924, in "Papers Relating to Road Hearing Before Secretary Work, March 26, 1924," ACAD Library.

68.Percival P. Baxter, Governor of Maine, to Dr. Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, 17 March 1924; "Governor Baxter Endorses the Road Building Program at Lafayette National Park," MSS, n.d. (March 1924), in "Papers Relating to Road Hearing Before Secretary Work, March 26, 1924," ACAD Library.

69."A Strange Objection," *Bangor [ME] Commercial*, 25 February 1924.

70."The Lafayette Park Road," [Bangor, ME] *Evening Express*, 5 March 1924.

71.Editorial, *Bar Harbor Times*, undated clipping. [February 1924], in "Papers Relating to Road Hearing Before Secretary Work, March 26, 1924." ACAD Library.

72.Beatrix Farrand to Director, National Park Service, 10 March 1924, in "Papers Relating to Road Hearing Before Secretary Work, March 26, 1924," ACAD Library.

73. George Wharton Pepper, U.S. Senate, to L. E. Kimball, Boston, MA, 3 March 1924, in "Papers Relating to Road Hearing Before Secretary Work, March 26, 1924," Acadia National Park Library.

74. "Distinguished Specialists Overcome Obstacles in Park Road Case," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 9 August 1924.

75. Dorr to Lincoln Cromwell, President, Northeast Harbor Village Improvement Society, 19 March 1924, in "Papers Relating to Road Hearing Before Secretary Work, March 26, 1924," ACAD Library; Dorr, "People present at the hearings before the Secretary of the Interior on March 26th, 1924, on behalf of Lafayette National Park and the adopted plans for its road development on which construction is proceeding," folder 1085, box 109, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

76. Dorr, 101-102; Collier, 121-22.

77. A. E. Demaray, Associate Director, National Park Service, to Dorr, 14 May 1924; Dorr to Demaray, 16 May 1924; Work to Harold Peabody, Boston, MA, 18 May 1924, in "Papers Relating to Road Hearing Before Secretary Work, March 26, 1924," ACAD Library; Dorr, 102; Roberts, 88.

78. Roberts thesis, 29.

79. Dorr to Stephen T. Mather, Director, National Park Service, 18 July 1924; Work to Dorr, 25 July 1924, in "Papers Relating to Road Hearing Before Secretary Work, March 26, 1924," ACAD Library.

80. Dorr to Rockefeller, 25 June 1924, folder 100, box 125, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

81. Heydt to Rockefeller, 15 April 1929, folder 763, box 74, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

82. Quoted in Roberts, 89.

83. Bates, Rand and Jaques, "Path Map of the Eastern Part of Mount Desert Island, Maine" (Boston, MA: Geo. H. Walker & Co, 1916).

84. Rockefeller to Paul D. Simpson, 8 November 1926, folder 1, box 1, RG IV3A10, Simpson Family Papers, RAC.

85. Ernst, overview, 7-9.

86. Ibid., 9-10.

87. See Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916 to 1942* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, 1993), 93-100, for a full discussion of Hull's work.

88. Gist Blair, President, Bar Harbor Village Improvement Society, to Work, 26 March 1927, in "Memorandum on a Development Plan. . .," 10-11.

89. Charles W. Eliot, II studied landscape architecture at Harvard before going to Washington to serve as director the National Capital Park and Planning Commission. He later was executive officer of Roosevelt's National Resources Planning Board and in 1954, returned to Harvard to teach planning. Donald A. Krueckeberg, "From the Backyard Garden to the Whole USA: A Conversation with Charles W. Eliot, 2nd," in Krueckeberg, ed., *The American Planner: Biographies and Recollections* (Methuen, MA, 1983).

90. McClelland, 94.

91. Cammerer and Vint, "Memorandum on a Development Plan. . .," 1, 7-9.

92. Ibid., 27. The Corkscrew Road, which passed over Paradise Hill, was the original route between Hulls Cove and Bar Harbor. Portions of the abandoned road are visible along the Paradise Hill motor and carriage roads.

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid., 28-29.

95. Ibid., 30-31.

96. Ibid.

97. Charles W. Eliot, 2nd, "The Future of Mount Desert Island: A Report to the Plan Committee; Bar Harbor Village Improvement Association" (Bar Harbor, ME: Bar Harbor Village Improvement Association, 1928).

98. "Secretary Work Approves Park Road Construction."  
Unidentified newspaper clipping, November 1927. Bar Harbor [ME] Historical Society collection.

99. A. H. Lyman, Bar Harbor, ME, to Heydt, 3 March 1928, folder 763, box 74, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC; Brown, 80-81.

100. Ernst, overview, 13.

101. Rockefeller to Lyman, 22 July 1933, folder 763, box 74, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC; *Bangor Daily Commercial*, 25 March 1933.

102. Rockefeller to Paul Simpson, 5 June 1929; Rockefeller to Horace M. Albright, Director, National Park Service, 16 July 1930, folder 1095, box 110, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC; Paul Simpson to Rockefeller, 7 January 1930, folder 3, box 1, RG-IV3A10, Simpson Family Papers, RAC.

103. "Proposed Road, Mount Desert Island, Maine," map, 1929, ACAD Maintenance Division files; Paul Simpson to Rockefeller, 7 December 1930, folder 3, box 1, RG IV3A10, Simpson Family Papers, RAC.

104. Peabody to Cammerer, 9 August 1929, folder 1095, box 110, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

105. Cammerer to Peabody, August 1929, folder 1095, box 110, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

106. Albright to Rockefeller, 16 June 1930; Rockefeller to Albright, 20 June 1930; Cammerer to Rockefeller, 24 June 1930, folder 835, box 84, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

107. Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., Brookline, MA to Rockefeller, 11 July 1930, folder 125, box 127, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

108. Ibid., 1-2.

109. Ibid., 3.

110. Albright to Rockefeller, 10 June 1930, in Ernst, 101-102.

111. Ibid., 102-103.

112. Much of their correspondence was later compiled into *Worthwhile Places*, *op cit*.

113. Rockefeller to Paul Simpson, 3 June 1930, folder 4, box 1, RG IV3A10, Simpson Family Papers, RAC.

114. Rockefeller to Albright, 27 June 1930, folder 1094, box 110, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

115. Rockefeller to Cammerer, 29 August 1930, box 204, RG 79, Central Classified Files, Arno B. Cammerer Papers, NARA.

116. Paul Simpson to Rockefeller, 7 December 1930, *op cit*.

117. Ibid.

118. Paul Simpson to Rockefeller, 31 December 1931, folder 1102, box 110, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

119. Rockefeller to Albright, 19 January 1931; Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior, to Rockefeller, 1 May 1931, folder 954, box 96, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

120. "Train Committee" to Rockefeller, 1 September 1931, folder 133, box 128, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

121. Rockefeller to Paul Simpson, 10 February 1933, folder 5, box 1, RG IV3A10, Simpson Family Papers, RAC.

122. Wilbur to Rockefeller, 2 February 1933; Rockefeller to Wilbur, 6 February 1933, folder 954, box 96, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

123. Albright to Rockefeller, 1 June 1933, in Ernst, 150-51.

124. Ernst, overview, 13.

125. Rockefeller to Chauncey Joy, Seal Harbor, ME, 3 January 1935, folder 1095, box 110, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

126. Rockefeller to Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, 14 March 1935, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

127. Paul Simpson, "Plan Showing Proposed Extensions of Park Motor Road, Mount Desert Island, Maine," 5 September 1934. ACAD Maintenance Division files. The present path between the Paradise Hill carriage road loop and Hulls Cove was constructed in the 1960s when the Park Service built the Hulls Cove Visitor Center.

128. Paul Simpson, "Plan Showing Location of Secs. 6, 7 & 8, Day Mt. Road;" Rockefeller, "Memorandum on Day Mountain Road," 9 September 1939, folder 1100, box 110, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC; Rockefeller to Paul Simpson, 1 May 1933, folder 5, box 1, RG IV3A10, Simpson Family Papers, RAC.

129. Rockefeller to Albright, 12 July 1938, in Ernst, 178.

130. Paul Simpson to Rockefeller, 6 January 1939, folder 8, box 1, RG IV3A10, Simpson Family Papers, RAC.

131. Rockefeller to Clement, 31 March 1915, folder 720, box 71, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

132. Rockefeller to Clement, 28 September 1917, op cit.

133. Rockefeller to Clement, 3 September 1915, op cit.

134. Dorr was director of the Trustees at the time.

135. Rockefeller to Judge L. D. Deasy, Bar Harbor, ME, 3 January 1917, in Roberts thesis, appendices, 5.

136. Rockefeller to Dorr, 14 March 1918, in Roberts thesis, appendices.

137. Charles Peterson interview, August 1995.

138. Paul Simpson to Rockefeller, 19 January 1931; Rockefeller to Simpson, 31 January 1931, folder 4, box 1, RG IV3A10, Simpson Family Papers, RAC. Although the change provided additional space for the pine, it eventually grew so large as to grow against the side of the bridge, and the tree was removed about 1990. The hemlock survives but is in poor condition.

139. Dorr to Rockefeller, 15 July 1922 (never sent), in Ernst, 5-6.

140. Rockefeller to Cammerer, 15 December 1927, in Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, National Park Service, Central Classified files, Arno B. Cammerer Papers.

141. Simpson to Rockefeller, 7 January 1930, op cit.

142. Rockefeller to Lynam, 6 October 1928, folder 833, box 84, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

143. Tom St. Germain and Jay Saunders, *Trails of History: The Story of Mount Desert Island's Paths from Norumbega to Acadia* (Bar Harbor, ME: Parkman Publications, May 1993), 88.

144. Freeman Tilden, Chief of Interpretation, National Park Service, "Park of Land and Sea," MSS, n.d., 13, ACAD Library, vertical files, Acadia Carriage Roads file.

145. Bernice Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller: The Woman in the Family* (New York: Random House, 1993), 236-37.

146. Ibid.

147. Cited in Ibid., 238.

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148.Rockefeller to Farrand, 16 May 1929; Farrand to Rockefeller, 4 September 1930, folder 738, box 72, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

149.Mark Condon, "Restoring Rockefeller's Roads: In Revamping its Landmark Carriage Roads, Acadia Has to Look Both Forward and Backward," *The Maine Times*, 19 August 1994, 4.

150.William D. Rieley and Roxanne S. Brouse, "Historic Resource Study for the Carriage Road System, Acadia National Park, Mount Desert Island, Maine" (Charlottesville, VA: Rieley & Associates, May 1989), 294.

151.Dorr to Rockefeller, 2 January 1920, *op cit.*, 6-7.

152.Quoted in Tilden, 13.

153.National Park Service, Draft National Register of Historic Places nomination for the Acadia Carriage Roads, 1978. ACAD Library, vertical files, Acadia Carriage Roads file.

154.Charles P. Simpson, in Hansen, 187.

155.Charles P. Simpson, in Hansen, 188.

156.Kert, 138.

157.Dorr to Cammerer, 10 January 1924, *op cit.*.

158.Victor J. Layton, "Mt. Desert Island's Granite Heritage," unidentified magazine clipping, 75. ACAD Library, vertical files, Acadia Carriage Roads file.

159.Rockefeller to Clement, 29 March 1919, folder 1231, box 122, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

160.Rockefeller to Charles Simpson, 15 April 1919, folder 1231, box 122, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

161.Rockefeller to Sam Candage, Seal Harbor, ME, 21 October 1924, 25 November 1919, folders 1227 and 1231, box 122, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

162.Rockefeller to Candage, 18 December 1919, folder 1235, box 127, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

163.Rockefeller to Candage, 21 October 1924, op cit.; "Bridges Built by B. W. Candage," MSS, 19 August 1927. Rockefeller Archives Center, folder 1217, box 121, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

164.Mather to Dorr, 12 May 1925, folder 1234, box 122, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

165.Rockefeller to Candage, 21 June 1925, folder 1234, box 122, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

166.Ibid.

167.Robert W. Gumbel, Seal Harbor, ME to Rockefeller, 29 July 1925, folder 1228, box 122, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

168.Rockefeller to Candage, 3 December 1924, 10 December 1924, folder 1227, box 122, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC; "Bridges Built by B. W. Candage," op cit.

169.Rockefeller to Candage, 30 August 1930, folder 1237, box 122, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

170."Bridges Built by B. W. Candage," op cit.

171.Rockefeller to Paul Simpson, 24 December 1924, folder 1217, box 121, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC; "Bridges Built by B. W. Candage," op cit.

172.Paul Simpson to Rockefeller, 11 November 1926; Rockefeller to Simpson, 8 November 1926, folder 1, box 1, RG IV3A10, Simpson Family Papers, RAC.

173.S. F. Ralston, Seal Harbor, ME, to Heydt, 23 June 1927; Heydt to Rockefeller, 10 December 1927, folder 1224, box 121, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

174. "Bridge Reconstruction Work Takes Top Prize in U.S. DOT Competition," *Bar Harbor Times*, 15 November 1977.

175. Pringle Borthwick to Rockefeller, 29 October 1929, folder 1221, box 121, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

176. Rockefeller to Borthwick, 23 August 1928, in "Extracts of Letters Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Borthwick in Seal Harbor Bubble Pond Bridge File," folder 1222, box 121, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

177. Gumbel to Rockefeller, 19 July 1929, folder 1222, box 121, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

178. Charles W. Stoughton, New York, "Amphitheatre Bridge over Little Harbor Brook, Mount Desert Estate of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.," construction drawing, 1930, map #78, folder 1241, box 123, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

179. One of these, the pine, was cut after it grew so large in diameter that it came up against the bridge. To accommodate its growth, a notch was cut in the parapet coping, but eventually the tree grew too large for the site and was removed.

180. Vanasse Hangen Brustlin, Inc., and McGinley Hart & Associates, "Historic Bridge Reconnaissance Study, Carriage Road System, Acadia National Park," draft ed. (Boston, MA: National Park Service, North Atlantic Regional Office, September 1993), 97.

181. National Register nomination for Acadia Carriage Roads, op cit., 7.

182. Candage to Rockefeller, 11 September 1931; Rockefeller to Candage, 14 September 1931; Rockefeller to Ralston, 14 September 1931; Ralston to Rockefeller, 24 September 1931; Rockefeller to Ralston, 2 October 1931, folder 1238, box 123, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC; Wyman and Simpson, Inc., Augusta, ME to Ralston, 26 September 1931, folder 4, box 1, RG IV3A10, Simpson Family Papers, RAC.

183. "Memorandum of Agreement Between S. F. Ralston, Seal Harbor, ME and Wyman and Simpson, Inc., Augusta, ME, 3 October 1931; Ralston to Rockefeller, 7 April 1932, folder 1238, box 123, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

184. Rieley and Brouse, 237.

185. Leo Grossman, Assistant Highway Engineer, Public Roads Administration, "Final Construction Report, 1939-41, Acadia National Park, Day Mountain Road, Hancock County, Maine" (Albany, NY: Public Roads Administration, 1941), 1-3, 16, 23.

186. Layton, 76-77.

187. Ibid., 78.

188. Ibid., 77-78.

189. Ibid.

190. St. Germain and Saunders, 87; Layton, 78.

191. Rockefeller to Clement, 28 September 1917, op cit.

192. Rockefeller to Farrand, 16 May 1929, op cit.; Farrand to Rockefeller, 22 May 1929, folder 738, box 72, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

193. Rockefeller to Mrs. A. E. Clement, Seal Harbor, ME, 6 November 1916, folder 720, box 71, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

194. Rockefeller to A. E. Clement, 5 October 1917, folder 720, box 71, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

195. Rockefeller to Clement, 26 May 1918, folder 720, box 71, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

196. "Memorandum Regarding Road Construction Work on Mount Desert Island," 29 May 1929, folder 1079, box 109, RG 2, OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

197. Wright, 109.

198.Mather to Albright, 15 June 1929, in Ernst, 94-95; Charles P. Simpson, 189; Roberts thesis, 38.

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